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HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON





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STATUE OF WASHINGTON BY LORADO TAFT



HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF WASHINGTON

BY

EDMOND S. MEANY, M.L.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
AUTHOR OF "VANCOUVER'S DISCOVERY OF PUGET SOUND"

"Again, Mr. President, I extend to you and the party which accompanies you a most cordial welcome to the Evergreen State." — GOVERNOR FERRY TO PRESIDENT HARRISON, AT TACOMA, MAY 6, 1891.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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WITH WHICH HE SERVES EVERY WORTHY

CAUSE WITHIN HIS REACH

THIS BOOK

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO

SAMUEL HILL





PREFACE

THE history of the State of Washington has been published occasionally in the form of expensive subscription volumes, augmented by the aid extended from generous individuals who were persuaded to have their biographies and portraits added for a monetary consideration. This book is written in the belief that the time has now come when there is a distinct use for a compact record in one volume, free from money-enticing addenda and depending for success upon its own merits. It is intended primarily for the general reader, but the frequent citation to sources will make it usable in such high schools and colleges as may need a text in this subject.

Acknowledgments of assistance have been made in footnotes throughout the work. It should, however, be recorded here that the difficult task of preparing Chapter XXXI on "Federal Activity in the State" has been greatly facilitated by the aid of United States Senator Samuel H. Piles, the members of President Roosevelt's Cabinet, and their assistants. The greatest difficulty arose from the fact that much of the information sought had never been segregated as to States. It may transpire that that chapter will blaze the way for a new appraisal of the increasing coöperation by the American nation with the individual States.

Governor Albert E. Mead has kindly permitted the use of the portraits of Territorial and State governors collected by him for the State, and George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, furnished a number of the other illustrations.

The efficient and tireless help of Charles W. Smith, Assistant Librarian of the University of Washington, is also acknowledged with gratitude.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON,
SEATTLE, December, 1908.





CONTENTS

PART I

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Prehistoric Conditions	1
II.	Lure of the Pacific	7
III.	Swirl of the Nations	17
IV.	Boston on the Northwest Coast	40

PART II

PERIOD OF EXPLORATION

V.	Alexander Mackenzie	45
VI.	Lewis and Clark	49
VII.	Quest of Furs and Trails	55
VIII.	Nathaniel J. Wyeth	67
IX.	The Wilkes Expedition	71

PART III

PERIOD OF OCCUPATION

X.	Astoria	80
XI.	Joint Occupancy	87
XII.	Part of the Monroe Doctrine	91
XIII.	Hudson Bay Company	95
XIV.	The Missionary Epoch	106
XV.	Fifty-four Forty or Fight!	132

PART IV

TERRITORIAL DAYS

XVI.	Under Three Forms of Territorial Government	138
XVII.	Washington Territory Organized	155

CHAPTER		PAGE
XVIII.	Indian Treaties	165
XIX.	The Blockhouse Era, 1855	176
XX.	Crushing the Indian Revolt, 1856	189
XXI.	Echoes of the Indian War, 1857–1858	203
XXII.	The Pioneer Home and Village	220
XXIII.	The San Juan Dispute	240
XXIV.	Influences of Gold and War	255
XXV.	The Turbulent Decade	269

PART V

STATEHOOD

XXVI.	Organizing the State	280
XXVII.	Extravagance Checked	290
XXVIII.	Economic Development	299
XXIX.	Political Growth	309
XXX.	Social Improvements	316
XXXI.	Federal Activity in the State	328
APPENDIX I.	Counties of the State of Washington	357
APPENDIX II.	Territorial Officers	362
APPENDIX III.	State Officers	365
APPENDIX IV.	State Institutions	369
INDEX		373



ILLUSTRATIONS

Statue of Washington by Lorado Taft . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Physiographic Map of Washington by Professor Solon Shedd . 4
Drake's Chair in Bodleian Library, Oxford 18
Captain John Meares 25
Captain George Vancouver 34
Captain Robert Gray 40
Captain Gray's Ship Chest 42
Alexander Mackenzie 45
Meriwether Lewis 49
William Clark 49
Statue of Sacajawea by Alice Cooper 52
British Blockhouse at Fort Colville 56
Captain John C. Frémont 62
Nathaniel J. Wyeth 67
John Ball, First School Teacher in the Pacific Northwest . . 69
Commander Charles Wilkes 72
John Jacob Astor 81
Doctor John McLoughlin 95
Doctor J. P. Richmond 95
Fort Vancouver in 1845 100
Steamer *Beaver*, First Steamboat on the Pacific Ocean . . 104
Doctor Marcus Whitman 127
Statue of William H. Seward, by Richard E. Brooks . . . 154
Isaac I. Stevens, First Governor of Washington Territory . . 159
Benjamin F. Shaw 167
Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan 181
Charles H. Mason, Secretary and Acting Governor of the Territory 190
Fayette McMullin, Second Governor of the Territory . . . 190
Judge Edward Lander 196
Marking the Birthplace of Seattle 220

FACING PAGE

Arthur A. Denny 229
Morton Matthew McCarver 232
United States Cruiser *Tacoma* 239
Colonel J. Patton Anderson 244
Captain George E. Pickett 244
Monuments at British and American Camps on San Juan Island 254
Lieutenant U. S. Grant 257
Colonel Justus D. Steinberger 260
William H. Wallace 264
William Pickering, War Governor of Washington Territory . 264
George E. Cole, Territorial Governor 267
Marshall F. Moore, Territorial Governor 267
Alvin Flanders, Territorial Governor 270
Edward S. Salomon, Territorial Governor 270
W. A. Newell, Territorial Governor 274
Watson C. Squire, Territorial Governor 274
Eugene Semple, Territorial Governor 277
Miles C. Moore, Territorial Governor 277
Great Seals of the Commonwealth 280
Map of the State of Washington 284
Elisha P. Ferry, First Governor of the State 287
John H. McGraw, Second Governor of the State . . . 292
John R. Rogers, Third Governor of the State 296
Henry McBride, Fourth Governor of the State 302
Albert E. Mead, Fifth Governor of the State 310
Samuel G. Cosgrove, Sixth Governor of the State . . . 314
Launching the United States Battleship *Nebraska* at Seattle . 347
United States Cruiser *Olympia*, Admiral Dewey's Flagship at Manila 354
United States Cruiser *Washington* on a Visit to Puget Sound . 354



OUTLINE

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION: THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST AND PUGET SOUND.

Spanish: Perez (1774).
Bodega y Quadra (1775).
Eliza and lieutenants (1790).
Russian: Bering (1741).
English: Drake (1579).
Cook (1778).
Meares (1788).
Vancouver (1792).
American: Gray (1788, 1792).
Wilkes (1841).

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION: THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

Gray (1792).
Lewis & Clark (1805).
Fremont (1843).

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES.

The Hudson Bay Company.
Astoria.
Wyeth.
Bonneville.

MISSIONARIES.

The Willamette Valley — Jason Lee.
Waiilatpu — Marcus Whitman.
Catholic Missions — Blanchet and Demers.

THE OREGON QUESTION.

Joint Occupancy (1818–1846).
Whitman's Ride and the Migration of 1843.
The Treaty of 1846.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

Provisional Government (1843–1849).
Oregon Territory (1849–1853).
Organization of Washington Territory (1853).

EARLIEST PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS.

Vancouver (1825).
Tumwater (1845) and Smithfield (Olympia) (1846).
Steilacoom, Port Townsend, and Whidby Island (1850).
Seattle (1851).
Tacoma (1852).
Walla Walla (1856).

THE INDIAN UPRISING (1855–1856).
Governor Stevens' Treaties.
The Yakima Revolt.
The White River Massacre and the Battle at Auburn.
Campaign of 1856 (Seattle, the Cascades, the Grande Ronde, Umatilla, Port Gamble).
The War of 1858 (Steptoe Butte, Four Lakes, Spokane Plains).

THE SAN JUAN DISPUTE.
Disagreement as to the Treaty of 1846.
The American Colony — Griffin's Pig — Captain Pickett.
Joint Occupation.
Arbitration by Emperor William (1872).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY (1853–1889).
Participation in the Civil War.
The Constitution of 1878.
The Northern Pacific Railroad (1883).
The Chinese Troubles (1885).
The Achievement of Statehood (1889).
The Year of Fires (1889) (Seattle, Spokane, Ellensburg, Vancouver).

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW STATE (1889).
The Enabling Act.
The Constitution.

EXTRAVAGANCE AND RETRENCHMENT.
State and Local Extravagance.
"The Hard Times."
The Reform Administration of Governor Rogers.
The Discovery of Gold in Alaska (1897).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.
Lumbering.
Agriculture.
Fisheries.
Mining.
Manufacturing.
Railroads.

POLITICAL GROWTH.
Direct Primaries.
State Railroad and Tax Commissions.
Local Option.

SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS.
Educational and Reformatory Institutions.
Art and Literature.
The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.



TOPICS FOR ESSAYS

Spain in the North Pacific.
Vancouver's Expedition.
The Hudson Bay Company.
The Lewis and Clark Expedition.
Astoria.
The Wilkes Expedition.
The Missionaries of the Northwest.
The Migration of 1843.
The Establishment of Government in Oregon.
"The Oregon Question."
The Beginnings of Seattle.
The Indian Uprising of 1855–1856.
The Indian Campaign of 1858.
The San Juan Dispute.
The Northern Pacific Railroad.
Changes in the Boundaries of Washington.
Federal Activities in Washington.
Political Reforms (1889–1910).
Growth of Education in Washington.
The University of Washington.
Washington State College.
The Lumber Industry.
Irrigation in Washington.
The Origin of Names of Places in Washington.
Washington Literature.

Captain George Vancouver.
Dr. John McLoughlin.
Marcus Whitman.
Governor Stevens.
Civil War Heroes in Washington History.





HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON



HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

PART I

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC CONDITIONS

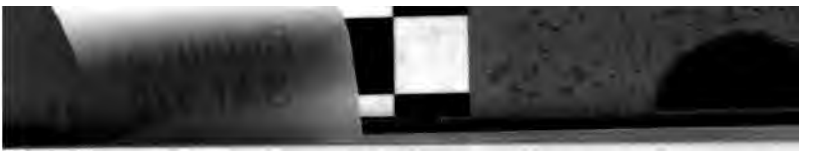
THOMAS CONDON, Oregon's Grand Old Man of Science, devoted half a century of life to the study of Oregon geology, and then placed the results of all that research in a delightful book,[1] in which he traces the geological history of the northwest region. Reading the story of the rocks, he finds that the first land thrust up from the bed of the ancient Pacific Ocean was a portion in southwestern Oregon and northwestern California, which he calls Siskiyou Island, and another portion where the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho form a contact, which he calls Shoshone Island. Though these were three hundred miles apart, the ocean still had free play about the edges of both islands, and in the sandy beaches of each were deposited the remains of the same kinds of sea life. Then the uplift known as the Cascade barrier appeared from the ocean, leaving Shoshone inland and Siskiyou still surrounded by the sea. The final uplift, known as the Coast Range, including the Olympic Mountains, united Siskiyou with the mainland, and left a huge trough in which are traced the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys of California, the Willamette Valley of Oregon, the lower

[1] Thomas Condon, "The Two Islands and What Came of Them" (Portland, Oregon, The J. K. Gill Company, 1902).

Cowlitz Valley, and the Puget Sound Basin of Washington, and Queen Charlotte Sound of British Columbia. The flanks of Siskiyou still remained under the influence of the ocean because the Willamette Valley continued for a time as a sound or arm of the sea. The waters around Shoshone Island, when the Cascade barrier arose, at first brackish, later became fresh, and those large lakes, linked one to the other, probably by the meandering ancestor of the Columbia River, finally drained their waters into the ocean. It is useless to ask how long ago these great changes occurred. Geologists have names for those periods of time, and recognize them by the kinds of rocks and forms of life they find in the distant and ever more distant ages, but none attempt to measure those æons with the layman's yardsticks of years or centuries.

Since the lonely and heroic researches of Professor Condon, made mostly when the country was a wilderness and dangers from Indians and other sources were many and real, considerable advance has been achieved in the knowledge of our geologic history. While Siskiyou will probably retain its identity as an island, it is now known that Shoshone was at most but a promontory of a much larger body of land than the word "island" would imply. In fact, Professor Condon himself indicated as much in a sketch furnished the governor of this Territory, in which the opening paragraph is as follows: "The oldest geological portion of Washington Territory lies along its eastern border. Here the outlying foot-hills of the Blue Mountains, the Bitter Root, and the Cœur d'Alene Mountains form an irregular belt of rocks ranging in age from the Carboniferous to the Cretaceous."[1] In later years it has been found that these old formations occur along the northern portion of Washington and along the flanks of the Cascade Range. Bailey Willis reported that the schists and associated silicious iron ores of the Skagit rest upon a massive limestone in which fossils were discovered.

[1] Watson C. Squire, Report of the Governor of Washington Territory for the Year 1884 (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1884), p. 18.



"These appear to be crinoids, and suggest a late Paleozoic age." [1]

The evidence thus far secured shows that the lands of Washington extend back in their formation to about the Carboniferous period of Paleozoic time. This may best be indicated by the following geologic column, prepared by Professor Henry Landes: —

Age	Character of Rocks	Chief Localities
Carboniferous	Limestone, sandstone, and shale, usually metamorphosed, with granite and other igneous rocks.	Whatcom, Okanogan, Ferry, and Stevens counties.
Jurassic	Sandstone, conglomerate, and limestone, with igneous intrusions.	Whatcom and Okanogan counties.
Cretaceous	Sandstone, shale, and conglomerate.	Okanogan, Whatcom, and San Juan counties.
Eocene	Sandstone and shale, with seams of coal.	Whatcom, King, Pierce, Chelan, Kittitas, Lewis, and Cowlitz counties.
Neocene	Sandstone and shale, with flows of basalt.	All central and southern counties.
Pleistocene	Unconsolidated clay, sand, and gravel, of glacial origin.	The mountainous counties, and those including Puget Sound.

It may be that geology in adding to its own splendid record of the earth's past may lead archæology and ethnology to a more satisfying solution of the vexed problem of the origin of American aborigines. Professor Henry F. Osborn, one of America's greatest paleontologists, in a recent article [2] says of the elephant's migrations as shown

[1] Seventeenth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey, 1896, p. 55.

[2] Henry Fairfield Osborn, "Hunting the Ancestral Elephant in the Fayum Desert," *Century Magazine* for October, 1907.

by fossil remains: "In the whole history of creation no other animal, with the single exception of the horse, accomplished such feats of travel." He fixes the original home of the elephant's ancestors in Africa, and to explain the world-wide migrations, constructs maps showing possible connections of the continents, including a lifting of the floor of Bering Straits so as to give land contact between Asia and North America. While the migrations of man probably came long after those of the horse and the elephant, it may be well within the range of possibility that the progenitors of the American aborigines like the ancestors of the elephant and horse, crossed on land from Asia before the continents were separated.

Though prepared for a different purpose, the following will contribute toward a better understanding of life conditions before and after the advent of man: "A study of the relief map which accompanies this report will make it clear that the physical features of the State may be divided into six provinces. Passing from the Pacific ocean inland these divisions are: Olympic Mountains, Puget Sound Basin, Cascade Mountains, Okanogan Highlands, Columbia Plain, and Blue Mountains. It must be understood, of course, that no hard and fast lines separate these provinces. The border line is always arbitrary and difficult of exact location. Another fact to be noted is that without exception these provinces extend beyond the boundaries of the State, overlapping into the adjoining States."[1]

These provinces show such a diversified surface of levels and elevations with apparent differences of temperature and moisture that it is the more easily comprehended how great varieties and great numbers of plants and animals would find in this area environments suited to their development. They show, furthermore, that man, primitive or civilized, could first approach by the sea, the rivers, and the plains before exploring the highlands and mountains for food or hidden treasures. And, as nature ignores the lines of latitude and longitude, the overlapping of the provinces

[1] Henry Landes, State Geologist, Washington Geological Survey (Olympia, Gwin Hicks, State Printer, 1902), Vol. I, p. 12.



PHYSIOGRAPHIC MAP OF WASHINGTON, BY PROFESSOR SOLON SHEDD





into the adjoining States would point to the truth that where those provinces extend would be found similarity in plants and animals and similar experiences of aborigine and white man. As those provinces overlap, so must at least the beginnings of history overlap. In probing the mysteries of the past it has been learned that during the ages in which those provinces were made the lands supported many different forms of life. Fragments chipped from the rocks tell of a time when tropical palm trees, accacias, and aralias flourished. The great meadows surrounding extensive lakes made excellent feeding grounds for the elephant, the broad-faced ox, rhinoceros, camel, and the little three-toed ancestor of the horse. Through the geologic changes these all vanished. Then came the pines, firs, cedars, hemlocks, spruces, and other trees, with bears, cougars, wolves, and beavers, the elk, deer, grouse; in short, the great coniferous forests with their wild populations in furs and feathers.

In this environment were developed the aborigines while wresting from the wilderness a rude dominion. From the Cascade Mountains eastward they found series of undulating valleys and plains over which they roamed in quest of food. The region as a whole was abundantly watered by the Columbia River and its numerous tributaries. West of the Cascade Mountains the Indians had Willapa Harbor, Grays Harbor, and that greater arm of the sea which they are said to have called Whulge, but which we call Puget Sound. On those shores and along the rivers they made their homes. They relied upon their canoes, and made very little use of paths or highways on the land. None of these Indians knew how to smelt iron ore, they had domesticated no animals other than the dog, they had built no houses of stone or adobe bricks as had the primitive peoples of Mexico, they had not learned to make or use pottery. They had not reached the culture plane of barbarians, but were all in the bow-and-arrow plane of savagery. Their implements were made of stone, bone, horn, shell, and wood. They had no metals except fragments of copper and iron. The copper undoubtedly came from the copper nuggets found in the rivers, especially of Alaska. The fragments of

iron found among the Indians of the coast have constituted one of the ethnological riddles to the present day. The most likely theory is that the iron came from the occasional wrecks of small Asiatic crafts on the northwest coast.

On August 13, 1805, Captain Meriwether Lewis, being ahead of his main party, crossed the divide, and came upon waters flowing westward. He was then on land once a part of Washington. Here he encountered a frightened band of Shoshone Indians who had never before seen white men. They were found in possession of horses,[1] as were the other tribes of the Columbia valleys. These horses had been obtained by trade or theft from the tribes of the plains east of the Rocky Mountains. Thus in the prehistoric period the native races might be classed as Horse Indians on the east and Canoe Indians on the west of the Cascade Mountains. This rough classification has one merit of helping to explain subsequent events. The Indians with the horses were more virile. They roamed over wider areas and offered a more stubborn resistance to the encroachments of the white man. The Indians with the canoes occupied only the fringes of the land, and subsisted mostly on fishes and clams. Their objections to the white man's invasion of their lands were comparatively feeble and ineffectual.

[1] Elliott Coues, "History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clarke" (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1893), Vol. II, p. 489.



CHAPTER II

LURE OF THE PACIFIC

MACAULAY prefaces an essay on the French Revolution by saying it would be unwise to judge the architecture of a building before the outside scaffolding has been removed. The centuries, in passing, unfold a perspective that reveals the unity of history. Though the discovery of America is commonly accepted as the boundary between mediæval and modern history, there may easily be traced through the caravels of the adventuresome Spaniards a connection of the history of these new lands and new seas with the history of the Old World at the dawn of the modern era.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 raised such an obstacle in the path of European trade with the Orient that the finding of a safe route by sea was transformed from a desire to a necessity. The fall of the Alhambra in 1492 marked the end of Moorish rule in Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella, in a spirit of religious fervor, recalled the despondent Columbus, and sent him on his way to find the lands and reclaim the souls of the heathen to the living God. Success, wealth, and power came rapidly into the hands of Spain, but her wonderful rôle in the early history of America can best be understood by remembering that from the first it was in the nature of a crusade. Every ship had its padre, every fort had its chapel, and often the lonely chapel and mission extended the dominion of Spain in advance of the army. All this work was controlled as a great monopoly by the government at home, for church and state were united, and the Spanish monarchy was absolute. In discussing this subject, so fundamental in Spanish history of the time, Professor Moses says: "The absolutism of the Spanish kings differed from that devel-

oped in other European states, by reason of the peculiar circumstances of Spain. In England, France, Denmark, Sweden, and the German kingdoms, the positive movement towards absolutism came after the Protestant Revolution had weakened the authority of the church in relation to the affairs of the state. But in Spain the movement fell within the years marked by the crusade against the Jews and the Moors, when the king and priests were directed by one common overpowering motive, when the royal activity was not determined by economic and political considerations, but by the desire to realize in Spain the designs of the church, involving the consolidation of ecclesiastical power and the unity of faith. The Spanish kings became, therefore, rather the champions of ecclesiasticism than the defenders of the temporal interests of the nation." [1] This condition naturally had profound effect on the Spanish crown's absolute dominion over the new colonies.

Columbus and his followers long clung to the belief that the lands they had found were the fringes to the spice lands. The great admiral, in his letter to the king and queen about his fourth voyage, speaking of what we know as the Isthmus of Panama, says: "They also say that the sea surrounds Ciguare, and that at ten days' journey from thence is the river Ganges." [2] This short inland journey, neglected by Columbus in 1503, was accomplished ten years later by Balboa, who found, not the river Ganges, but the South Sea, of which he promptly took possession for Spain, together with all the islands and firm lands washed thereby. The new name and a knowledge of the vast extent of the ocean were obtained from Magellan's voyage during the years 1519 to 1522.

From Balboa's foothold on the shore of the Pacific at Panama began voyages along the shores to the north and south. However, the contact of the north Pacific coast

[1] Bernard Moses, "The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America" (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), pp. 12–13.

[2] Edward Gaylord Bourne, "The Voyages of Columbus and of John Cabot," in Original Narratives of Early American History (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 395.

history with these early Spanish enterprises is found not to be with Panama, but with Mexico. In 1519, two years after Balboa had been executed by Pedrarias, and the very year that Magellan started on his memorable voyage, Cortez began his conquest of Mexico. By 1526, he became so infatuated with his success, his wealth, and power that he was recalled to Spain. When he returned to his New Spain in 1530, he was stripped of half his power, for a new audiencia and later viceroy, Mendoza, had the civil control, while he had only the military command of the province. At the end of ten years Cortez went home sick and disheartened, but during that decade he began the exploration of the Pacific shores to the northward. To newly found lands he gave the beautiful name of California, and in 1534 made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize the southern extremity of the supposed island. In 1539, one of his captains, Ulloa, proved that California was not an island, but a large peninsula.

When Cortez left Mexico in 1540, the work of exploration was continued by Viceroy Mendoza, and in 1542, Cabrillo sailed along the shores of Upper California, discovering, among other geographical features, the bay of San Diego. Breaking an arm, he put back to one of the islands he had discovered, and there he died on January 3, 1543. As death approached he called to his side Bartolome Ferrelo, the pilot, and gave his last command: "Sail northward at all hazard." The pilot obeyed, and on February 28, 1543, reached his highest latitude. The degree of latitude reached has become a matter of disagreement. Ferrelo claimed he reached the forty-third parallel. Recent writers claim he did not pass beyond 41°. One of the very best authorities on such questions, Professor George Davidson, says he probably reached 42° 30′.[1] Though he became frightened by stormy weather and scudded southward with all possible speed, Ferrelo, by passing the forty-second parallel, was the first civilized man to

[1] George Davidson, "Methods and Results," Appendix No. 7, Report for 1886, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey (Washington, 1887), p. 234.

reach the latitude of Old Oregon, the northwest coast of America.

With so much success and such manifestation of enthusiasm, it seems strange that after Ferrelo's voyage Spanish interest in the northern coasts of America should wane so completely. There was now a gap of sixty years, with no voyages until that of Vizcaino in 1602, and then there followed a gap of more than a century and a half. The following are probably the reasons for this supineness. In the first place, Emperor Charles V negotiated a marriage between his son Philip and Queen Mary of England in 1554. In January, 1556, Charles V abdicated his throne, and Philip II became the wealthiest monarch in the world. Though England had declined to abide by the division of the world by Pope Alexander VI, Spanish subjects in the New World had no more fear of attack from the subjects of their sovereign's queen. It is true that Queen Mary died childless in 1558, and was succeeded as queen of England by her sister Elizabeth, but it is recalled that for many years Elizabeth declined the wooing of King Philip, and at the same time refrained from giving him offense by marrying any one else. For some years this condition of hope deferred lent a shadow of the same security that prevailed during the reign of Queen Mary. The astrologer to Charles V had given from his wisdom the information that gold could only be found in the land of the equinoctial, and it would be useless to search for it north or south of the tropics. Gold had been found in Mexico and Peru, but no indications had been found that gold existed north of Mexico, and, indeed, the miserable failure of Coronado's search for the Seven Cities of Cibola, coming at the same time as the conclusion of the Ferrelo voyage, ended the interest of the conquistadors in that northern region. It was left for the friars to plant there their missions, as that of Santa Fé, Santa Barbara, Santa Monica, and San Francisco. By 1564, the Spaniards had conquered the Philippine Islands, and the Manila fleet coming to Mexico made an added source of wealth. In draining the gold from Peru, Mexico, Guatemala, and the Philippines, in conquering and

occupying Cuba, Florida, Venezuela, and La Plata, the energies of the Spaniards were occupied. California and the shores to the northward could wait.

The Spaniards received a rude awakening from all this fancied security in the year 1579, when Francis Drake, the "Sea-king of Dover," appeared on his famous buccaneering expedition. Notwithstanding Elizabeth's coquetry with Philip II, her bold seamen had developed the habit of plundering Spanish treasure-ships. Drake had experience in these enterprises with his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, until he had become himself a man of wealth. In 1577, he fitted out a fleet of five vessels, and sailed for the Strait of Magellan. Before he could reach the Pacific Ocean four of his vessels were lost or had deserted, but he succeeded in reaching the ocean with the vessel he commanded in person, the *Golden Hind*. With this one ship he eclipsed all former records of freebooting. He entered harbors, and surprising the Spaniards at anchor, cut their cables and masts to prevent retaliation, helped himself to any treasure in sight, and moved on. He overhauled one galleon from which he took tons of gold and silver, which the Spaniards had wrested from the natives. It was claimed that the *Golden Hind* was loaded down with a freight of this twice-plundered wealth when Drake bethought him of a safer route for home. He would not dare risk a return by the same shores he had ravaged, so he boldly struck out for the north in search of the prevailing winds in the Spanish course from Mexico to the Moluccas. As in the case of Ferrelo, the northern limit of his voyage is in dispute. He claims[1] he reached 48°, and if so, it would be off the shore of the State of Washington as far north as a line drawn through the present city of Everett. Whatever the northern limit reached, it is surprising for those familiar with the mild summer climate of Puget Sound

[1] R. B., "The English Hero, or Sir Francis Drake Revived" (London, G. Golding, 1739), p. 116. Quoted by George Davidson, "Methods and Results," pp. 215 and 216. Davidson also quotes from the Hakluyt Society, 1854, Edition of "Drake's World Encompassed," placing the northern limit at 43°.

to read in those old records that Drake's company in June, 1579, encountered such bitter cold and foul weather that they were driven southward. They continued this direction along the coast seeking a harbor "til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay,[1] with a good winde to enter the same." Here they repaired their ship for the long voyage across the Pacific, and collected what fresh supplies the country would yield. The Indians of that vicinity regarded the strangers as superior beings from another world. Their confidence and friendship were won, and at last they placed a crown of leaves on Drake's head and hailed him as "Hioh." Just before leaving the bay an interesting ceremony was performed which is best told in the quaint narrative of the time: —

"Our Generall called this countrey, Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towards the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

"There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver.

"At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and people into her Majesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a piece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall."[2]

[1] This bay has been identified and named Drake's Bay. It lies just north of San Francisco Bay. Drake noticed the Farallon Islands, which he called the Islands of St. James. They did not learn of San Francisco Bay, which, indeed, was not discovered until 1772, nearly two centuries after Drake's voyage, and this discovery was made by friars in an expedition by land.

[2] Richard Hakluyt, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation" (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904), Vol. IX, pp. 325–326.





DRAKE'S CHAIR IN BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD



Albion was an old Roman name for England. It is interesting to observe that we thus had the name on the Pacific coast before Captain John Smith wrote the name "New England" into the geography of the Atlantic coast and a full two score of years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. The hint at gold and silver was evidently taken by the world as simply a guess, for no stampede resulted from the announcement. The whole trend of American history might have been changed, had England followed up Drake's act of taking possession of Nova Albion, but King Philip's wrath, the "Invincible Armada," and the absorbing events of that day withdrew England's attention from the distant lands of the Pacific.

When Drake returned home, he was a man of wealth and fame. He was the first captain to carry the flag of England around the globe. Queen Elizabeth dined with him on the deck of his little *Golden Hind*, and before leaving the vessel she made a knight of the captain who thenceforward figured in history as Sir Francis Drake. The vessel was cherished as a relic for about a century until the restoration of Charles II, after the Cromwellian Protectorate, when enough solid oak was taken from the hulk to make a fine chair. This was presented to Oxford University, where it may be seen to this day in Bodleian Library. The people of the north Pacific coast of America are interested in that chair. It is the last fragment of one of the first ships to reach their shores.

The war in Europe not only withdrew the interest of England from the Pacific lands, but it also dampened the ardor of Spain. Though Drake's exploit in 1579 would have resulted in immediate activity on the part of the Spaniards on the western coasts under ordinary circumstances, it was not until 1597 that we see an exploring expedition setting out from Mexico. Sebastian Vizcaino had come out from Spain, but he confined his efforts to exploring the Gulf of California. In 1603, the same commander, with Aquilar and Flores as associates, sailed from Monterey and reached as high as the forty-third degree of north latitude, giving names to a number of capes. This voyage, therefore, did

not accomplish much more for Spain than had the voyage of Cabrillo and Ferrelo sixty years before. Vizcaino advised the government to fortify Monterey and San Diego, but nothing was done for many years.[1]

The quest of a water route to the riches of the Orient led to the discovery of lands which were slowly recognized to be parts of a new world. Instead of silks and spices these new lands yielded wealth in gold and silver. This, with the love of adventure, the thirst for land and dominion, the desire to redeem the souls of the heathens, was lure enough to attract numerous bold spirits, but never was given up the idea of a water highway through the new lands from the Atlantic to the Pacific, — a safe route from Europe to India. In 1523, the discovery of Lake Nicaragua, with a river flowing into the Atlantic, led to the first suggestion at that early date of an artificial highway, a canal being suggested from the lake to the Pacific. Even the great De Soto, while a lieutenant of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru (1533), suggested a canal for the Isthmus of Darien. When Jamestown was founded in 1607, the adventurers spent much time in exploring the rivers York and James for a passage to the sea beyond. One of the reasons for the famous charter of the Hudson Bay Company in 1670 was the hope of finding the Northwest Passage by way of Hudson Bay. The instructions issued to Cook on his third and last voyage, 1778, included a reward of £20,000 if he should find the passage from sea to sea. In 1791, Eliza wrote from Nootka to the viceroy of Mexico, after exploring what is now known as the Gulf of Georgia: "It appears that the oceanic passage so zealously sought by foreigners, if there is one, cannot be elsewhere than by this great channel."[2] In fact, the search was not completed until 1905, when Captain Roald Amundsen, in his little *Gjoa*, a yacht of forty-seven tons, succeeded in solving the maritime riddle more than four centuries old.[3]

[1] Joseph Schafer, "A History of the Pacific Northwest" (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905), p. 14.

[2] Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Works of (San Francisco, The History Company, 1886), Vol. XXVII, p. 248.

[3] Roald Amundsen, "The Northwest Passage" (New York,

During the early stages of this famous search for the Northwest Passage or the Straits of Anian, an older name for the same thing, there were a number of apocryphal voyages recorded with all the circumstance of chart and journal. Gradually these were exposed. One of the most elusive of these is still a question of conjecture and debate. In April, 1596, an Englishman of good repute, named Michael Lok, while in Venice met an old Greek navigator called Juan de Fuca, whose real name was Apostolos Valerianos, who told him a tale of being plundered of "sixty thousand ducats" by Cavendish off the coast of California. Then the viceroy of Mexico in 1592 sent him on a voyage up the coast to fortify the Straits of Anian lest the English should come that way into the South Sea. Lok's record of this tale says that Juan de Fuca followed the coast "untill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seven degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, between 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entered thereinto, sayling therein more than twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometime North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at said entrance, and that hee passed by divers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of

E. P. Dutton and Company, 1908), pp. 125–126: "At 8 A.M. (August 27, 1905) my watch was finished, and I turned in. When I had been asleep some time, I became conscious of a rushing to and fro on deck. Clearly there was something the matter, and I felt a bit annoyed that they should go on like that for the matter of a bear or seal. It must be something of that kind, surely. But then Lieutenant Hansen came rushing down into the cabin, and called out the ever memorable words: 'Vessel in sight, sir!' He bolted again immediately, and I was alone.

"The Northwest Passage had been accomplished — my dream from childhood. This very moment it was fulfilled. I had a peculiar sensation in my throat; I was somewhat overworked and tired, and I suppose it was weakness on my part, but I could feel tears coming to my eyes. 'Vessel in sight!' The words were magical. My home and those dear to me there at once appeared to me as if stretching out their hands — 'Vessel in sight!'

"I dressed myself in no time. When ready, I stopped a moment before Nansen's portrait on the wall. It seemed as if the picture had come to life, as if he winked at me nodding, 'Just what I thought, my boy!' I nodded back smiling and happy, and went on deck."

this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinnacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon." [1] On his return, De Fuca claimed the viceroy promised him great reward, but he waited two years in vain for the fulfillment of that promise, and was then anxious to enter the service of England to get revenge and recompense. Lok tried to get him employment under the English flag, and kept up a correspondence until in 1602 he heard the Greek was dead. Michael Lok's note on this case appeared in "Purchas His Pilgrimes" in 1625. The story was implicitly believed. Many years afterward, when diplomacy demanded the truth of these claims, the Spanish archives were carefully examined and the search was projected to Cephalonia, the home of the Greek pilot. Not a shred of evidence could be found that any such voyage had been made, nor could it be established that any such man as Juan de Fuca or Apostolos Valerianos ever existed. It now seems as though Michael Lok was imposed upon by a clever seaman.

[1] Samuel Purchas, "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes" (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906), Vol. XIV, p. 416.



CHAPTER III

SWIRL OF THE NATIONS

THE lure of the Pacific — gold, religious zeal, spices of India, control of a passage between the seas, earth hunger, love of adventure, thirst for geographic knowledge and fame — drew to the shores of northwest America representatives of Spain, England, Russia, France, and the United States. The swirl of activities developed different motives. The annals of that time constitute the most absorbing period of our history.

For more than a century and a half after Vizcaino's voyage of 1603, Spain was apparently content with developing her new lands without adding greatly to them except by the land excursions of their energetic and loyal friars. England gradually reformed her old habits of buccaneering. The noble sciences of geography and astronomy took on new dignity, winning a larger measure of international esteem and protection.[1] Everything was at a standstill on the northwest coast when activity was renewed from an entirely unexpected source. Russia began her approach from the north.

The wild, rough-riding Cossacks had ranged the Siberian steppes, drawn eastward in quest of the fur of the ermine, golden sands of the Amur River, and fossil ivory of the extinct mammoth, until by 1700 the dominion of the Czar had been extended from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The most picturesque as well as the most far-seeing sovereign yet developed in Russian history was Peter the

[1] During the war for American independence, with England on one side and the United States, France, and Spain on the other, the belligerents issued orders that should Captain Cook be met, he must not be hindered but helped on his way.

Great. The key-note of his marvelous policy was compressed into the famous epigram: "It is not land we want, but water." The latest echo of that persistent policy was heard in recent years at Port Arthur. Five weeks before his death, in December, 1724, Peter wrote with his own hands these condensed orders: "I. At Kamchatka or somewhere else two decked boats are to be built. II. With these you are to sail northward along the coast, and as the end of the coast is not known this land is undoubtedly America. III. For this reason you are to inquire where the American coast begins, and go to some European colony; and when European ships are seen you are to ask what the coast is called, note it down, make a landing, obtain reliable information, and then, having charted the coast, return." [1] These instructions were issued to Vitus Bering, the Danish mariner, one of the Europeans imported and employed by Czar Peter. Bering faithfully performed the task after more than four years of harrowing experiences. In 1728, he sailed northward from Avacha Bay, on the Kamchatka Peninsula, and proved that America and Asia were not united.

After this great achievement Bering felt himself neglected and injured by the government, so he hid away on a farm in Finland, but was prevailed upon to emerge from his retirement, and lead what is called the Great Expedition, 1741. In that year he left Avacha with two ships, the *St. Peter* and the *St. Paul*, his companion Cherikoff being commander of the *St. Paul*. The two ships soon parted company in a gale. Cherikoff lost two boats' crews in trying to make a landing near the site of Sitka, and then he made his way back to Avacha. Bering, on July 16, saw the great mountain which, in honor of the saint of that day, he named St. Elias. This is usually accepted as the discovery of Russian America or Alaska. Suffering with scurvy, they hurried back toward Avacha, but landed on a little island to protect themselves for the approaching winter. Their ship was wrecked

[1] Peter Lauridsen, "Vitus Bering, the Discoverer of Bering Strait," translated from the Danish by Julius E. Olson (Chicago, S. C. Griggs and Company, 1889), p. 13.



on the shore. The captain and a number of his crew died, and were buried there. The saving spirit of this stranded expedition was George Wilhelm Steller, the surgeon and naturalist. He explored the island, found food for all, and in the spring guided the survivors back to Avacha Bay. His discoveries helped to save the enterprise from oblivion, and had, also, a profound effect on the history of that region. Among other things he found four kinds of animals: the sea-lion, which is valuable for oil; the sea-cow, weighing about three tons, supplied valuable food and was prized so highly that it was hunted to entire extinction in the next generation; the sea-dog or sea-otter; and the sea-bear or fur-bearing seal. The fragments of furs of these two animals created a sensation on the return of the survivors to Siberia. A new lure had been discovered in the Pacific. Fur hunters thronged to the wild scenes. In the absence of metal they tied planks together with leather thongs, and in such boxes risked and many lost their lives in this scramble for wealth. Bering's name was given to the strait he discovered in 1728, to the island that gave him a grave in 1741, and to the sea that washes its shores. Scientists have given Steller's name to a number of animals and plants, and in 1882, Dr. Leonhard Stejneger visited Bering Island and named a natural rock formation Steller's Triumphal Arch and a little hill he called Mt. Steller in an effort to commemorate the services of this efficient character in the annals of the north Pacific Ocean.

Little is known of the experiences encountered by those who led in the rush for furs. The government sent out exploring parties under Lieutenant Synd and Captains Krenitzin and Levaschef in 1766 to 1769, but the records were not given to the public. In 1786, Master Gerassim Pribilof discovered the wonderful seal rookeries on the islands that have since borne his name. The Russians organized a monopoly company for the fur trade, and on August 18, 1790, Alexander Andreievich Baranof became its manager. Of medium height, thin and sallow, with a fringe of red hair surrounding an otherwise bald head, this man with unflinching courage faced danger in every

form, exclaiming at one time: "I will either vanquish a cruel fate or fall under its repeated blows." For three decades he ruled Russian America after the autocratic fashion of his race. He established colonies at likely places. Using Kadiak as his first capital, he sent Purtof, in 1794, to explore Yakutat Bay, where the Russian explorer met Lieutenant Peter Puget exploring the bay while his chief, Captain George Vancouver, was doing similar work in Prince William Sound. In 1796, the Russians built a fort at Yakutat Bay at the mouth of Ankau Creek, for the protection of a colony of exiled agriculturists. This colony had a most miserable experience, and in 1805, was annihilated by the Indians who left not a soul and burned all the buildings. On May 25, 1799, Baranof bartered with a native chief for some land, and at once cut logs to begin the building of his new capital, Sitka, the "City on a Channel." [1] From this new center the Russians strengthened and expanded their hold on the shores. In 1803, their attention was called to the otter harvest on the California coast. A few years later they built and occupied Fort Ross on Bodega Bay, near San Francisco, which they held until 1841. In 1834, they built a stockaded post later called Fort Wrangell, near the mouth of the Stikine River, to resist encroachments by the Hudson Bay Company.[2]

While the aggressive activity of the Russians had reached far enough southward to become alarming, the Spaniards were also aroused by the successes of England, their old enemy and rival. Following the brilliant victory of Wolfe over Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham, the treaty of Paris, in 1763, not only yielded New France or Canada to the English, but that vast empire between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi became English territory. The French were so humiliated that they called the treaty L'Honteuse, "The Shameful," and to clear their hands of America en-

[1] Kostromitinoff, interpreter of the court at Sitka, stated in 1899 that Sitka was a native word meaning "City on a Channel."

[2] Marcus Baker, "Geographic Dictionary of Alaska" (United States Geological Survey, Washington, D.C., Second Edition, 1906), p. 682.



tirely they ceded Louisiana to Spain. During that contest England also seized the Spanish province of Florida which she was destined to hold for twenty years, 1763 to 1783. All this made England a threatening neighbor of Spain in the New World. Now if the Northwest Passage should be discovered, giving the British an entrance to the South Sea, Spanish dominion would be endangered by an aggressive foe on the east, the north, and the west. It is no wonder that Spain, while unwilling to aid the Americans, finally did consent to join the French to defeat England in the war for American independence. There was still another reason for Spanish alarm. James Cook had accompanied Wolfe in the campaign against Canada. Then and later he gained great reputation as an accurate geographer and astronomer. The Royal Society obtained consent of the king to send an expedition to the South Sea to observe the transit of Venus. The command of the expedition was given to Cook, who sailed from England on August 23, 1768, and returned June 11, 1771. He not only accomplished his scientific errand, but he explored islands, discovered unknown lands, and at a number of places took possession for the king of England. The same captain made a second voyage through the South Sea from 1773 to 1775. It was now clear that Spain would have to exert herself if she was to hold California and the lands to the northward of that province.

Later Russia was to become an active opponent, but it is remarkable that Viceroy Florez should foresee danger to Spanish dominions from the United States. On December 23, 1788, he wrote to the home government at Madrid, telling of the arrival at the islands of Juan Fernandez of the *Columbia* after which she proceeded to the north coast. "We ought not to be surprised that the English colonies of America, being now an independent republic, should carry out the design of finding a safe port on the Pacific and of attempting to sustain it by crossing the immense country of the continent above our possessions of Texas, New Mexico, and California." Then mentioning the importance of such a station, he adds: "It is indeed an

enterprise for many years, but I firmly believe that from now on we ought to employ tactics to forestall its results, and the more since we see that the Russian projects and those which the English may make from Botany Bay which they have colonized, already menace us." [1]

The various voyages are recounted with considerable detail by Hubert Howe Bancroft in his "History of the Northwest Coast." In the present narrative mention will be made of a few, particularly those approaching the lands that have since become the State of Washington.

When the Spaniards aroused themselves from their long neglect of the northern coasts, they sent forth Juan Perez, who sailed from Monterey on June 11, 1774, in the *Santiago*. He was instructed to make no settlements, but to sail up to 60° north and pick out the best places for settlements. He was to rear crosses and plant bottles containing records which would later serve as evidence of Spanish possession. They were evidently afraid to land. Fresh water is abundant along those shores, and yet they were driven back by thirst after reaching 55° north. Returning along the coast, on August 7, they discovered a little harbor at 49° 30′ north which they called San Lorenzo. This harbor was soon to become famous under its later name of Nootka. The Indians came out in canoes, and holding up bits of iron and copper, made signs that they wished to barter for more. Perez hurried on without landing, and on August 10, discovered a snow-white mountain in latitude 48° 10′ which he named Santa Rosalia. This was the first name given by civilized man to a geographic feature in the State of Washington. Later we shall see how the name was changed to Mt. Olympus.

The next expedition was the most remarkable made by the Spaniards to these shores. On May 21, 1775, the *Santiago* sailed from San Blas, Mexico, in command of the leader of the expedition, Bruno Heceta. She was accom-

[1] William Ray Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy," in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904 (Washington, 1905), p. 302. Manning quotes from the manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville.



panied by the little schooner *Sonora*, thirty-six feet long, twelve feet wide, and eight feet deep. The schooner was commanded by Bodega y Quadra. The combined force consisted of one hundred and six men. They were instructed to sail northward and explore as far as 65°. On July 14, they were off the shore at 47° 30′, and Captain Heceta, Padre Sierra, Surgeon Davales, and Second Pilot Cristobal Reviella landed. They erected a cross, and at its foot planted a bottle sealed with wax and containing a record of this act of possession. This was the first known time that civilized man had touched foot to the soil of this State. While this interesting ceremony was being enacted, the *Sonora* waited under the lea of an island. Indians came out in their canoes and offered to trade, especially for iron and copper, bits of which they held up in their hands. Quadra, needing wood and water, sent Boatswain Pedro Santa Ana with six men in a small boat. As they landed, Indians rushed from their hiding, and killing the men, began to tear the boat to pieces for its metal. Quadra was furious. When the *Santiago* answered his signal of distress, he asked Heceta for the privilege of leading a company of thirty men to punish the murderers. A council of officers were about to send the *Sonora* back to Mexico, but in answer to his importunities, Quadra was given six men from the *Santiago* and allowed to go on with the expedition. Before leaving he called the island Isla de Dolores or "Island of Sorrows." The name was later changed to Destruction Island. The ancient Indian village at the mouth of the Hoh River was examined by the present writer in 1905. Thirty Spaniards would have had small chance of escape from the many savage warriors lurking in those natural fortifications of rocks and forest.

Both the captains were ambitious. They undoubtedly agreed in secret to separate at the first opportunity to escape the restraint of the council of officers. A storm on July 30 gave the chance. Quadra kept out to sea, and finally sailed northward, making a fine record along the shore to 58°. He named Mt. Jacinto near the site of Sitka. The name has since been changed to Edgecomb. Though sick

with scurvy, he kept at work and returned to San Blas November 20. Heceta had returned to the shore near San Lorenzo, and coasting southward, tried in vain to catch and punish the murderers at Isla de Dolores. On August 17, he found a bay with indications of a river. The north cape he called San Roque and the south cape Cabo Frondoso. The bay he called Bahia de la Asuncion, but later the Spaniards called it Ensenada de Heceta. If he had followed up the indications of a river and sailed across the bar, he would have discovered what we now know as the Columbia River, but Heceta's men were sick, and it was claimed that had they dropped anchor, they had not strength to raise it again. He returned to Monterey on August 29.

Before the Spaniards followed up these two voyages, Captain James Cook made his appearance on his third and last voyage. On Sunday, March 22, 1778, he makes this record: "Between this island or rock, and the Northern extreme of the land, there appeared to be a small opening which flattered us with the hopes of finding a harbour. These hopes lessened as we drew nearer; and, at last, we had some reason to think, that the opening was closed by low land. On this account I called the point of land to the North of it Cape Flattery." [1] This land was to Cook Nova Albion, and he was following up the work by Drake two centuries before. From Cape Flattery he was driven off shore by a storm, and when he came back to land, he was at Nootka. Though a whole degree north of where he had last seen the shore, he wrote in his journal: "It is in this very latitude where we now were that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. But we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed." Cook remained at Nootka a month, after which he proceeded northward, doing magnificent geographical work on the shores of Russian America. He returned for winter quarters among the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives. His stay at Nootka had two important results. The furs obtained

[1] James Cook, "A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean" (London, W. and A. Strahan, 1784), Vol. II, p. 263.





CAPTAIN JOHN MEARES

there caused a sort of stampede of fur hunters to the northwest coast. He recorded a list of native words which were afterwards used by other captains until it became the foundation of the great Chinook jargon, which, as developed by the Hudson Bay Company, became the common language of all northwestern Indians from California to Mt. St. Elias, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

Captain Barclay was one of the fur hunters who came to the coast in 1787. He was in the ship *Imperial Eagle*, under the Austrian East India Company. His wife, being with him, was the first civilized woman to visit these shores. Barclay Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, is named in his honor. He is of special interest here because he found a river flowing into the sea opposite Quadra's Isla de Dolores. He sent six men ashore for water. They were killed by the natives, and he promptly charted the name Destruction River. Since then the Indian name of Hoh has been restored to the river, and Barclay's name Destruction has supplanted Quadra's Isla de Dolores. Those early tragedies have been spared that much of geographic memento.

John Meares, a retired lieutenant of the British navy, was the most unconventional and interesting personality of all those figuring in these early marine annals. He sailed under double colors, he succeeded as fur hunter and geographer, he was the pioneer of two great industries, he sought to plant a colony of Chinese men with Kanaka wives, he wrote a book, he precipitated a quarrel between England and Spain which came near embroiling also the new republic of the United States into a serious war. There was nothing dull about John Meares. In 1786, he sailed from Bengal with two vessels, the *Nootka* and *Sea-otter*, names redolent of furs and adventure. Little is known of this voyage except that it was confined to the shores of Alaska. In 1787, English merchants in India fitted out two ships, the *Felice Adventurer* and the *Iphigenia Nubiana*, and placed them in command of John Meares and William Douglas. To avoid excessive port charges in China and to evade licenses from the South Sea and East India mo-

nopolies, a Portuguese partner was taken in, who procured from the governor at Maco, Portuguese flags, papers, and captains. In case of need the real masters would appear as clerks or supercargoes. While little use was made of this scheme, the trick of double colors is condemned as a cheat, closely akin to piracy. In May, 1788, Meares in the *Felice* arrived at Nootka, and for two pistols he bought some land from Chief Maquinna. He at once erected a little fort, and began an important enterprise. He had brought the framework of a schooner. His ship's company included fifty men, crew and artisans, part of each group being Chinamen. This little schooner, the *North West America*, was the first vessel built in this part of the world, and this was also the first introduction of Chinese labor on the Pacific coast.

Leaving his men at work on the schooner, Meares sailed southward. On Sunday, June 29, 1788, he sighted a great inlet at 48° 39′ which he named after its "original discoverer John De Fuca." [1] He believed the note by Michael Lok, and in this way perpetuated the supposed name of the old Greek pilot. Crossing to the southern point, Meares was well treated by Chief Tatoosh, whose name he gave to the small rocky island. That island is now a government reserve for the lighthouse and weather-bureau station. As you land from a small boat at the little cove of gravel between the western cliffs of rock, you will still find rude houses of Indians. Some of the planks look like the old ones chipped from cedar logs by the Indians with their prehistoric stone axes. On July 4, Meares, still sailing southward, saw a snow-crowned peak. He did not know or else did not care that Perez, the Spaniard, had seen the same peak fourteen years before, and had named it Santa Rosalia. Meares evidently recalled his school days, and thought the mountain fit to be the home of the gods. He called it Mt. Olympus. The next day, July 5, he discovered and named Shoalwater Bay, an unfortunate

[1] John Meares, "Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N. W. Coast of America" (London, Logographic Press, 1791), Vol. I, p. 250.



name for commercial reasons, which has now been supplanted by the Indian name Willapa Harbor. On Sunday, July 6, he rounded a cape which he hoped would prove to be the San Roque of Heceta, for much had been said about the Spaniards finding a river at 46° 10′. He was disappointed and wrote in his journal: "We can now with safety assert that no such river as that of Saint Roc exists as laid down in the Spanish chart." He called the places Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay. Again the great River of the West held to her face the veil of ocean spray, although Jonathan Carver had invented for her the beautiful name of Oregon some twenty-two years before.[1] The existence of the river was simply a guess on Carver's part while traveling among Indians in Minnesota, and the name itself seems, in the light of subsequent research, a pure but valuable invention. On returning toward Nootka, Meares sent Mr. Duffin with thirteen men in the long boat to explore the shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Captain Douglas arrived at Nootka from his work on the shores of Alaska. He perhaps did not know that Captain George Dixon the year before had found a waterway north of Queen Charlotte Islands, and named it Dixon Strait. He also found it, and called it Douglas Entrance. Subsequent geographers have played a trick on Douglas. They have taken part of each name, writing it Dixon Entrance. Meares launched his new schooner, and placing her in command of Robert Funter, arranged for Douglas and Funter to winter at the Sandwich Islands, while he would take the furs and return to China. An interesting entry in the journal at this time is as follows: "We also took on board a considerable quantity of fine spars, fit for topmasts, for the Chinese market, where they are very much wanted and of course proportionably dear. Indeed the woods of this part of America are capable of supplying with these valuable materials all the navies of Europe."[2] Experiencing rough

[1] Jonathan Carver, "Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North America" (Philadelphia, Key and Simpson, 1796), p. v, where the name is spelled "Oregan."

[2] Meares, "Voyages," Vol. I, p. 360.

weather after leaving the harbor, the deck-load of spars was thrown overboard, and yet even the attempt is interesting as a beginning of the lumber industry of the northwest coast.

In a single week of the spring of 1789, three far-reaching historic events occurred in widely separated regions. On April 30, the oath of office was administered in New York to George Washington as first President of the United States, and government under the new Federal Constitution was organized. On May 5, at Versailles, King Louis XVI, amid a vast concourse, opened the States-General, from which event the French Revolution hastened with lurid speed. On May 6, Estevan José Martinez arrived at Nootka, on the northwest coast of America, and soon performed acts which drew England and Spain to the verge of war. With the ending of that quarrel Spain's vast colonial empire began to crumble.

The quarrel is known in history as the Nootka Sound Controversy, under which title the subject is exhaustively treated by William Ray Manning in the monograph referred to above. An outline of the case is sufficient here.

Spain was clinging to the old notion that the lands washed by the Pacific belonged to her. But gradually she had to modify this notion, as other nations ignored her extensive claims. In 1774, 1775, and again in 1779, Spain added to her claims of discovery by exploring the coasts as far as Prince William Sound and by performing the ceremony of taking possession, planting bottles, and erecting crosses. In 1780, this work was deemed accomplished, and by royal order those voyages ceased. The Spanish ambassador at St. Petersburg had informed his home government that Russians were making settlements north of California. Viceroy Florez in Mexico became alarmed, as we have seen, over the first appearance of an American ship, but his communication to the home government containing his reference to the Americans was mainly devoted to an appeal for approval of his plans of operations on the northern coast. In 1788, Martinez had sailed north under a royal commission to examine the Russian settlements, and late



that year he reported to Florez that the Russians informed him that four frigates would come the next year from Siberia to make an establishment at Nootka. Florez at once arranged to send Martinez to Nootka to build a fort and hold the place as a Spanish possession. The royal approval was not granted until April 14, 1789, and could not have been known in America in time to affect results. The trouble that ensued cannot be charged as having been initiated by the Spanish government. Nor, on the other hand, did the English side of the controversy initiate with the British government.

Meares, instead of coming back to Nootka as he had expected in the *Felice*, organized a joint stock company with Mr. Etches, representing the King George's Sound Company, holding a license from the East India Company. There was now no need of double colors, but, of course, he could not communicate this fact to Captain Douglas, of the *Iphigenia*, and Funter, of the *North West America*, wintering in the Sandwich Islands. Meares secured two new ships, the *Argonaut* and the *Princess Royal*, and sent them out in command of Captain Colnett and Captain Hudson. Elaborate plans attended this enterprise. Framework for another schooner was shipped. A number of Chinamen were sent as in the voyage of the previous year. Meares says there were seventy, but the Spanish lists later showed but twenty-nine. It was planned to get each Chinaman a Kanaka wife at the Sandwich Islands, and with these the new colony at Nootka, to be known as Fort Pitt, was to be planted under the charge of Mr. Duffin.

Douglas and Funter arrived at Nootka in April, and the schooner sailed north for trade. When Martinez arrived on May 6, he found no Russian frigates there, but he did find the *Iphigenia*, which Captain Douglas had promptly transformed from an English to a Portuguese vessel on the approach of the Spaniard. Martinez did not like the looks of things generally, and seized the *Iphigenia* as a prize. Later he changed his mind and released the vessel, furnishing needed supplies for which he took an order on the supposed Portuguese owner at Macao. Learning later



that this partner was a bankrupt, Martinez seized the schooner *North West America* on its return to Nootka early in June, and held it for the debt of the *Iphigenia*. Captain Hudson arrived with the *Princess Royal* on June 14, got the furs from the seized schooner, and sailed on a trading trip. Captain Colnett arrived on July 3, and was so aggressive about his business of planting Fort Pitt that his vessel, the *Argonaut*, was seized as a prize. On July 14, Captain Hudson returned to Nootka, and the *Princess Royal* was promptly seized. In August the seized ships were sent to Mexico, where Viceroy Florez soon found himself in an embarrassing situation. He wished to reënforce Martinez at Nootka, but his equipment for such purpose was slender. He wished royal sanction and wrote for it, but the delay would necessarily be long and irksome. To still further complicate matters, his own successor as viceroy was then on the way to supplant him. However, Martinez was supported, and the prizes and prisoners were held until Revilla-Gigedo, the new viceroy, released them even in advance of the royal order to do so. The viceroy tried to satisfy the English captains by refitting the vessels and paying wages for the time of detention. In December Martinez abandoned the fort at Nootka, but early in 1790 a new garrison was sent in command of Lieutenant Francisco Eliza.

England at this time was hopeful of a term of settled peace. When the Cabinet heard from Nootka, they withheld for some days from Parliament and people the painful news of probable war. Investigations followed on the receipt of the first news from the Spanish authorities at Madrid. Then John Meares arrived in London, where he prepared his famous memorial bearing the date of April 30, 1790. In this he sets forth all his real and fancied grievances, and accompanying these complaints was an itemized statement of what he calls "actual" losses amounting to 153,433 Spanish dollars, and "probable" losses of cargoes the seized vessels may have obtained amounting to 500,000 Spanish dollars.[1] England at once demanded

[1] Meares, "Voyages," Vol. II, Appendix.



a restoration of the lands involved on the northwest coast of America and complete reparation for the damages inflicted. Spain began to arm for resistance against such unfair demands, and England likewise prepared for war. She appealed to her allies, Holland and Prussia, both of whom promptly agreed to extend aid. Holland's fleet joined the British, making what has been called the greatest fleet in history up to that time. All the outlying British colonies were notified to strengthen their defenses and remain on guard. Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, was ordered to prepare for war. He was also to cultivate friendly relations with the United States. Premier Pitt had several important interviews with Francisco Miranda, the Venezuelan, who was to arouse the South Americans towards independence should the war come to pass. These schemes went so far as the formulation of a constitution for a huge empire to comprise the West Indies, all of South America except Brazil and Guiana, all of Central America, Mexico, and North America west of the Mississippi Valley. Florida and the valley of the Mississippi was to constitute a new British colony. Dorchester sent Major Beckwith to sound the Americans. He conferred with Hamilton and other leaders. It became so serious that President Washington asked in writing for the opinions of his advisers. It was practically agreed that the United States would not take sides in the approaching war.

Spain might hope for an alliance with Russia and Austria, but for past services she felt entitled to immediate aid from France and opened negotiations, but France was in the midst of a revolution, and Spain was disappointed in that quarter.

Spain yielded and signed the treaty October 28, 1790, agreeing that commissioners should go to Nootka and restore the lands and buildings to the British. It had already been agreed that the money claims should be settled separately. Ultimately Spain paid $210,000.

The commissioner to represent Spain at Nootka was Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the same who had shown such grit and bravery in the little schooner Sonora

in 1775. The British commissioner was Captain George Vancouver. They met at Nootka in August, 1792, but, though they became personal friends, they could not agree. Under a subsequent treaty Sir Thomas Pierce, representing England, and Manuel de Alva, representing Spain, met at Nootka in March, 1795, and went through the ceremony of transferring the lands to England. Subjects of both powers should be free to visit the port, which was then left to the Indians. They have been the sole occupants of the place to this day.

While the Nootka controversy was in progress, events of importance were taking place on the northwest coast. Some of the voyages in those years resulted in discoveries that laid the foundations for subsequent historical development.

It is hardly necessary to more than mention the French in this swirl of the nations along our shores. La Perouse, the famous navigator, sailed along the coast from Alaska to Monterey, where he arrived on September 14, 1786. His map was the best produced up to that date. Etienne Marchand explored a part of Queen Charlotte Island in 1791. This voyage received undue prominence in being made the basis of a fine treatise on South Sea geography by Count Fleurieu in 1798. There was no attempt to follow up these voyages or to gain a foothold for France in this region.

The American captains Kendrick and Gray were at Nootka during the troubles between Martinez and the English captains. Besides their business of fur trading, they made some discoveries of far-reaching importance, which will be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

The expedition which Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo sent to Nootka early in 1790 was led by Eliza, in the ship *Concepcion*, accompanied by Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo, in the snow *San Carlos el Filipino*, and Alferez Manuel Quimper, in the sloop *Princesa Real*. Arriving at Nootka, they again went through the formality of taking possession. Early in May, Fidalgo went on a cruise to the northward, returning to San Blas, Mexico, on November 14. Eliza sent Quimper



to explore the Strait of Juan de Fuca. He gave Spanish names to a number of geographic features, about the only one that has remained being Canal de Lopez de Haro, and that has been divided by having Lopez transferred from the name of the canal to that of an island in the San Juan Archipelago. Quimper gave the name of Porto de la Bodega y Quadra to the harbor we now know as Port Discovery. He took possession at a number of places including Neah Bay, which the Spaniards called Nuñez Gaona. He proceeded to Monterey, without calling at Nootka, arriving there on September 2. Eliza wintered at Nootka. In March, 1791, he was joined by several others who brought him instructions to explore the coast from St. Elias to Trinidad. Instead, he surveyed that waterway we now know as the Gulf of Georgia, calling it Gran Canal de Nuestra Senora del Rosario la Marinera. That name, condensed to Rosario Strait, now forms the boundary between San Juan and Skagit counties. Sailing northward to Tejada Island, he came into a labyrinth, beautiful in its rugged pristine grandeur, — majestic mountains in the distance flanked by endless forest-clothed hills, around his ship lay myriad islands bathed in the pulsing tide, while points in robes of spruce and fir came down into the sea, welcoming the explorer into long canals and inlets. From this maze he wrote the viceroy that here, if anywhere, would be found the highway so zealously sought by foreigners.

The year 1792 marked the culmination of northwest discovery and exploration by sea. In that year the Americans made their important discoveries, Vancouver discovered and explored Puget Sound, and the Spaniards continued with a vigor inspired by the approaching final settlement with England. At the end of April, Quadra arrived at Nootka to await the appearance of Vancouver with whom he was to negotiate for the cession of lands under the terms of the treaty of October 28, 1790. He was soon followed by Lieutenant Jacinto Caamano who explored around Queen Charlotte Island, and Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo who was sent to build a fort at Nuñez Gaona or Neah Bay. In this way they would try to hold the entrance to the

Strait of Juan de Fuca if they were compelled, in the negotiations, to relinquish Nootka. That fort was abandoned the same year, before completion, and even at the present time occasional fragments of the flat Spanish bricks are found on the banks of the little creek flowing through the Makah Indian village at Neah Bay. Alejandro Malaspina, on a scientific tour of the world, called at Nootka in 1791, and later loaned to Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo two well-trained men, Dionisio Galliano and Cayetano Valdes. They arrived at Nootka in May, 1792, and proceeded to follow up the work of Eliza in and around the Strait of Juan de Fuca. On June 21, they met Vancouver, and told him they had just noticed the indications of a river. Vancouver declared that he had explored that shore in small boats, and no such river existed. Sixteen years later Simon Fraser discovered by land that great river which has since borne his name. The Englishmen and the Spaniards went on through the Gulf of Georgia to the sea, proving that Nootka was on an island and proving, also, that the dreaded passage hinted at by Eliza did not exist in that region. As the Galliano party returned to Mexico, they looked in at Gray's recently discovered Columbia River to see if it was not the Entrâda de Heceta discovered by the Spaniards in 1775. While subsequent map-makers ruthlessly removed many of the names given by the Spanish explorers, there has, at the same time, been manifested some spirit of fairness. Lieutenants Fidalgo and Caamano have been commemorated by the naming of two islands which they never saw or recognized as islands, Quimper's name has been preserved on the peninsula where Port Townsend is located, Guemes Island has retained its name, and Eliza's name of Porto de Nuestra Senora de los Angeles has been contracted into Port Angeles.

Of all the voyages to the northwest coast of America by discoverers, explorers, or fur hunters, the one whose geographic names have endured best was that in command of Captain George Vancouver. For this fact there are three good reasons: the work of exploration and map making was done in a first-class scientific manner; the work was



CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER



promptly published in generous form; the work of discovery and exploration was followed up by occupation and development by English-speaking peoples. Cook's voyage and the resulting interest in the fur trade had persuaded the British government to send out a scientific exploring expedition. It was to have been commanded by Captain Henry Roberts, and Vancouver rejoiced over the appointment as chief lieutenant under him. Both had been officers with the illustrious Cook, and were ambitious to follow up his good work. The expedition was about ready to sail early in 1790 when the news from Nootka threatened a world-wide war. Roberts was sent in a war-ship to be ready to strike Spain in the West Indies. Being still absent when the treaty was signed, Roberts missed the command of this scientific expedition, which was given to his lieutenant. Vancouver later remembered his friend by naming for him Point Roberts in the northwestern corner of the present State of Washington. Vancouver had two vessels —the sloop-of-war *Discovery* and the armed tender *Chatham*. They sailed from England on April 1, 1791, passed around the Cape of Good Hope, did some good geographic work in the South Sea, including the discovery of Chatham Island, wintered at the Sandwich Islands, and on April 17, 1792, reached the coast of what Vancouver recognized as Drake's New Albion. On Friday, April 27, they examined the bay and cape named Deception and Disappointment by John Meares in 1788. The next morning Vancouver discovered and named Point Grenville "after the Right Honorable Lord Grenville." [1] This was the first name given by Vancouver to a geographic feature of the present State of Washington. A railroad has been constructed to a summer resort at Moclips, on the coast near this point. Hundreds of people now delight to clamber over its rugged cliffs jutting into the sea. In a former work,[2] the present writer

[1] George Vancouver, "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World" (London, John Stockdale, 1801, Second Edition), Vol. II, p. 37.

[2] Edmond S. Meany, "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound" (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907).

traced the origin of some seventy-five names given by Vancouver in this region. In the present work notice will be made of those in the present State of Washington.

While off Cape Flattery and before entering the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Vancouver met the American ship *Columbia*, Captain Robert Gray, and sent Lieutenant Peter Puget and Archibald Menzies, the naturalist and assistant surgeon, to interview him. Gray reported that he had found a river at 46° 10′, but was unable to cross over the bar. He was then on his way to try again. Later Vancouver placed in his journal a denial of the existence of such a river, and was honest enough to let the denial stand even after he had sent Lieutenant W. R. Broughton of his own expedition to explore the newly found Columbia. After passing Gray, Vancouver anchored within the strait, and the next day, April 30, the third lieutenant, Joseph Baker, whose age is unknown, though he was presumably a youth, since his commission to that rank was dated December 18, 1790, called the captain's attention to a beautiful snow-crowned peak to the northeast. Vancouver generously named it in honor of the young man, and it has ever since been known as Mt. Baker. On the same afternoon they saw a long sandy point which, from its "resemblance to Dungeness in the British channel, I called New Dungeness."

Finding a beautiful harbor with a protecting island at its mouth, he named one for his ship, Port Discovery, and the other he called Protection Island. Here he made temporary headquarters, sending out boats on side trips of exploration. On May 8, he discovered another snow mountain which Vancouver named after his friend Rear Admiral Peter Rainier. On the same day he had named Port Townshend in honor of the noble marquis of that name. On May 13, in honor of the Right Honorable Lord Hood, he conferred that name on Hood Canal. The point south of Port Townsend he called Marrowstone Point because it seemed to be composed of a rich species of marrowstone. On Saturday, May 19, headquarters had been moved to the shelter of a point opposite the present city of Seattle, which he named Restoration Point, in honor of spending there the



anniversary of the restoration of the monarchy after the Cromwellian Protectorate.

This is as far as the ships proceeded in these waters. The work from that point was done in the small boats. Lieutenant Peter Puget led one expedition, whose work was so well done that Vancouver wrote the name Puget Sound upon his chart. The captain had himself led another boat's crew, resulting in the discovery of a large island which he named after his friend Captain, later Admiral, James Vashon. A boat was sent to the westward in command of the clerk of the *Discovery*, H. M. Orchard. The waterway he discovered is named in his honor, Port Orchard. The stretch of water between Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca was named Admiralty Inlet in honor of the Board of Admiralty which supervises the work of the Royal British Navy.

Vancouver sailed from Restoration Point to examine an entrance he had noticed on the eastern shore. Then he prepared to carry out a scheme he had been contemplating, which was to celebrate the birthday of King George III, by taking possession of the lands he had been exploring. So on Monday, June 4, 1792, they landed where the present city of Everett stands, and took formal possession of the whole region, calling it New Georgia. The whole inland sea was named Gulf of Georgia. The water immediately in front of his landing place was called Possession Sound, the western arm being named Port Gardner after Admiral Sir Alan Gardner, and the eastern arm Port Susan after that admiral's wife. Penn's Cove was named after a friend of Vancouver, whose identity is not now known.

Retracing their course through Admiralty Inlet, Vancouver named the point at its entrance Point Wilson, after his friend Captain George Wilson of the navy. The point opposite was named Point Partridge, probably because Vancouver's brother John had married into a very respectable family of that name in England. On this evening of June 6, they anchored near a bay which Lieutenant Broughton had named Strawberry Bay. It was on an island, and Vancouver, seeing some trees which he

thought were cypress, called it Cypress Island. The trees are really a form of juniper, though they are commonly called pencil-cedar. Boat expeditions were sent out from here. Joseph Whidbey, who had the rank of Master, found a narrow passage connecting with Port Gardner. This resulted in the two names Deception Pass and Whidbey Island.

Sailing northward from Cypress Island, the expedition anchored in a bay on the mainland, which, from a tree observed by Vancouver, received the name of Birch Bay. It is just south of the harbor on which the city of Blaine is now located. Whidbey was directed to continue his examination of the coast from Deception Pass northward, while Vancouver went north from Birch Bay in small boats. On this excursion he traversed some three hundred and thirty miles, and made a number of discoveries. He named Point Roberts, as already mentioned, but instead of detecting what we know as Fraser River, he called the mouth of that great stream Sturgeon Bank, because the natives had sold him some fish of that kind. He named Burrard Inlet after Sir Harry Burrard who later, upon his marriage, added to his name that of Neale by royal license. He named Howe's Sound, after Admiral Earl Howe, Jervis Inlet, and a number of other places. Since he had already used the king's name in christening New Georgia, he again honored his sovereign by calling this new land after the king's house, New Hanover. Provisions began to run low, and Vancouver turned back toward his ships, meeting, on June 22, the Spaniards Galliano and Valdes. After an exchange of civilities, he hastened to his own ships. There finding that Whidbey had found and charted a large bay to the north of Deception Pass, he named it Bellingham Bay in honor of Sir William Bellingham, controller of the storekeeper's accounts of his Majesty's navy. One point of the bay he called Point William and the other Point Francis.

Accompanied part way by the Galliano party, Vancouver sailed his ships through the channels he had explored in the boats, and gave many names which still re-



main on the charts. He arrived at Nootka on August 28, and attempted to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1790 as already related. The Spanish commissioner said this was an event of historic importance, and he would like to have their names linked together on some geographic feature that future generations might know of their meeting. Vancouver then took his chart and across the land around which he had just sailed he wrote: "Quadra and Vancouver's Island." An edition of Mitchell's Atlas published in Philadelphia in 1851 shows that partnership name, but the "Quadra" portion has long since fallen into disuse.

It is interesting to note that the name of George III should have been supplanted by that of one of his chief opponents, — George Washington, — and that the British themselves should have changed the name of New Hanover to British Columbia.



CHAPTER IV

BOSTON ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

NEW ENGLANDERS were acquainted with the sea. John Ledyard of Connecticut had been with Cook on his voyage to Nootka. Boston shipping men learned of the profitable fur trade on the northwest coast. In 1787, while the constitutional convention was in session in Philadelphia, six men of Boston — J. Barrell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Darby, C. Hatch, and J. M. Pintard — organized a company, and arranged to send to the northwest coast the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, of two hundred and twenty tons, and the sloop *Lady Washington*, of ninety tons. The expedition was to be under Captain John Kendrick, master of the *Columbia*, and Captain Robert Gray was to command the sloop. The voyage being principally one for trade, the vessels took cargoes of merchandise for barter, especially iron and copper implements, but the company also struck a medal, on one side showing the ships with their names and the name of Kendrick; on the other giving the names of the partners, and around the outer edge these words: "Fitted at Boston N. America for the Pacific Ocean." This would imply a desire to make friends of the Indians either for future trade or for establishing American interests. The vessels sailed from Boston October 1, 1787. They encountered delays in the Atlantic, and about the middle of March, 1788, they separated in a gale. In April, Gray rounded Cape Horn and made for the north in haste. On August 14, he entered a harbor, probably Tillamook Bay. The Indians were friendly at first, but later murdered Marcos Lopez, the captain's servant, a native of Cape Verde Islands. They called the place





CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY





Murderer's Harbor, and moved on toward the north. Observing Barclay Sound, they called it "Company Bay," and Clayoquot they undertook to name "Hancock Harbor." On September 16, the *Lady Washington* was off the entrance to Nootka, and was towed into the harbor by boats from the ships of Meares and Douglas. On September 20, the Americans fired a salute in honor of the launching of the schooner *North West America.*

Captain Kendrick had been compelled to put in for repairs at the islands of Juan Fernandez, which accounts for the sloop *Lady Washington* reaching Nootka ahead of him. He had lost two men from scurvy. On September 23, he reached Nootka, and then the Americans helped the remaining Englishmen, Douglas and Funter, prepare for their departure to winter quarters at the Sandwich Islands. On October 1, 1788, the Americans celebrated the anniversary of their sailing by entertaining the two English captains on board the *Columbia.* The Englishmen left Nootka on October 26, but the Americans settled down to winter there.

On March 16, Gray in the sloop set out to trade. He paid a brief visit in Clayoquot Sound, returning to Nootka on April 22 and setting out again on May 3, he reached as high as 55° 43′. He undertook to call Queen Charlotte Island, "Washington Island," and while there he surpassed all records at bargaining. The Indians were extremely anxious for iron. They piled up sea-otter skins and pointed toward an old iron chisel. The trade was made. The furs were worth $8000. He returned to Nootka on June 14. His furs were placed with those obtained by Kendrick, in the *Columbia,* and then Gray was ordered to take the *Columbia* to Canton, sell the furs, buy tea, and sail on to Boston, while Kendrick was to remain for further trade in the sloop.

In doing this Captain Robert Gray had the honor of being the first man to carry the Stars and Stripes around the globe. He sailed from Nootka in July, reached Canton in December, and arrived in Boston in August, 1790. Here Governor Hancock gave a great reception to the

owners and officers of the *Columbia*. In going to the reception, Captain Gray marched up State Street, arm in arm with Attoo, a chieftain he had brought from Hawaii, the first of his people to visit the United States. He was clad from head to foot in a wonderful feather robe of almost priceless value. A century later prominent citizens helped to reproduce that scene in Boston.[1]

The voyage had been less successful than anticipated, so Derby and Pintard sold their interests to their partners, Barrell and Brown. Captain Gray sailed again for the northwest coast, and arrived at Clayoquot Sound on June 5, 1791. After exploring and trading along the shores, he attempted to go south for winter quarters. Meeting rough weather, he returned to Clayoquot, and on October 3 laid the keel for a new schooner which he would build during the winter.

Captain Kendrick had taken his harvest of furs to China and returned to Nootka in July, 1791. He bought tracts of land from the Indians, and went through the formality of making out deeds for the natives to sign by making their marks. Obtaining a large number of furs, he sailed again for China after Gray had decided to remain and build his sloop. While Gray was engaged in this work, a plan to massacre the party was discovered and averted through the loyalty of the Hawaiian servant. The little schooner was launched on February 23, 1792, and was named *Adventurer*. She was placed in command of Gray's efficient mate, Robert Haswell. On starting out for the harvest they parted, the *Columbia* going south where the meeting with Vancouver took place, and Gray went on to sail into the river he had reported.

On May 7, he found a great bay which he named Bulfinch Harbor. Later that name was changed to Grays Harbor. He then proceeded to the Entrada de Heceta of 1775 or the Deception Bay of 1788, and on May 11, he sailed over the bar into the river which he at once named the Columbia, in honor of his ship. These two discoveries by Gray

[1] *Boston Transcript*, "Old Boston Days and Ways," April 22, 1897.



CAPTAIN GRAY'S SHIP CHEST





were of prime importance to the Americans in the subsequent negotiations over the possession of the northwest coast. Captain Gray and his associate Haswell had gathered many furs. They sold the *Adventurer* to Quadra at Neah Bay, and left for China and home.

Captain Joseph Ingraham had been a mate in the *Columbia*, but in 1791, he came to the coast in the brig *Hope* from Boston. Captain James McGee was fur trading on the coast in 1792 in the *Margaret* from Boston. In the same year Captain R. D. Coolidge had come in the *Grace* from New York by way of China. There were other American ships on the coast at that time, most of them sailing from Boston.

In 1803, the name of Boston was associated with the greatest tragedy in the history of Nootka. The ship *Boston* was owned by the Amorys of Boston. She was fitted out for the northwest trade and sent to Hull, England, for a cargo of copper and iron implements for barter goods. Her captain was John Salter who angered Chief Maquinna by giving him a personal rebuff. That chief of the Nootkans then planned and executed an awful revenge by killing the entire crew with the exception of John R. Jewitt, the armorer, and John Thompson, the sailmaker, who were enslaved. Jewitt was the son of a blacksmith at Hull, who had joined the *Boston* to reap a harvest for his family. Chief Maquinna had observed Jewitt making axes and knives, and wished to own him as a slave. Thompson was found after the massacre, and was spared through Jewitt's intercession. After three years the white slaves were rescued, and Jewitt gave the world an account of his experiences.[1]

As most of those who came to these coasts under the Stars and Stripes were from Boston and as Americans made many inquiries for the lost ship *Boston*, which the Nootkans had burned after killing the crew, the Indians learned to associate the name of Boston with the Stars and Stripes. To this day "Boston-Man" means American

[1] "John R. Jewitt, Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of" (New York, 1816, and numerous other editions).

in the Indian Esperanto, or Chinook jargon, just as "King George-Man" means Englishman.

In 1903, just one hundred years after the enslavement of Jewitt and Thompson, the present writer visited Nootka and thoroughly examined the famous little harbor.[1] On behalf of the Washington University State Historical Society, a granite obelisk was planted on the summit of a rocky islet in the mouth of the harbor, to commemorate the meeting there of Quadra and Vancouver in 1792.

[1] Illustrated articles in *Illustrated London News*, September 26, 1903, *Collier's Weekly*, November 21, 1903, and other periodicals.



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ALEXANDER MACKENZIE



PART II

PERIOD OF EXPLORATION

CHAPTER V

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, the capable and intrepid Scotchman, deserves mention here on account of his early and purposeful journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. He was born in Inverness, Scotland, about 1755. In early youth he emigrated to Canada and became a clerk to one of the fur traders. Later he became a partner in the Northwest Company. From boyhood he loved adventure, and earnestly desiring to explore the unknown wilderness, he went to London for books and to acquire a working knowledge of astronomy and navigation. Returning to Canada, he resumed his work as a fur trader, but soon found encouragement to begin his explorations. After his two famous journeys he went to London, and in 1801 published his book.[1] The next year he was knighted. He died in Dalhousie, Scotland, March 12, 1820.

He is described as a man of medium height, with wavy brown hair, lithe, quick, wary, and firm. He well knew how to get on with the Indians and the rough white men he was to lead. He was anxious to explore a way to the Pacific Ocean. He left Fort Chipewyan in a birch-bark canoe, with a German and four Canadians as crew, on June 3, and returned on September 12, 1789. They found

[1] Alexander Mackenzie, "Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793" (London, R. Noble, 1801).

the lakes reported by Indians, and from those lakes they paddled down a long river to its mouth, where Mackenzie found, to his surprise, that they had come not to the Pacific, but to the Arctic Ocean. He looked upon the trip as a failure, though he had made one of the great discoveries of his day, which has been commemorated by having the name Mackenzie written upon that remarkable river. However, one thing, he declared, had been demonstrated: there was no serviceable Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

With the second journey he was more satisfied, and his idea of the national importance of his work is revealed by the last clause to the preface of his book: "And that, by unfolding countries hitherto unexplored, and which, I presume, may now be considered as a part of the British dominions, it will be received as a faithful tribute to the prosperity of my country." He started on the second journey, by way of Peace River, on October 10, 1792. Winter quarters had been prepared for him at Fort Fork which he reached on November 1. He left winter quarters on May 9, 1793, in one of those superb birch-bark canoes, twenty-five feet long, which two men could carry three or four miles without stopping. Into this his men and goods were embarked. They found food plentiful, elk in herds, and told of an abundance of flowers, but they also encountered swarms of troublesome gnats and mosquitoes. On June 9, they encountered the first Rocky Mountain Indians, who, though they had never seen white men before, showed pieces of iron obtained by barter with other Indians to the westward. When they could proceed no farther up the Peace River and its branches, they made a portage and found waters flowing to the west. Soon they came to a large river, down which they traveled until Mackenzie became dissatisfied with its southern course when he struck out overland toward the west. That large river, whose mouth Galliano had hinted at, and Vancouver had denied the existence of, the year before, was again left unexplored, waiting for Simon Fraser to traverse its turbulent length and give it his name in 1808. Mackenzie



found the Bella Coola River, and traveled to its mouth, where he found the sought-for waters of the Pacific. He proceeded to Cascade Canal or Cascade Inlet as it is now called, and on a rock painted: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three." [1] Returning, they arrived at Fort Fork on August 24, 1793, and a month later they reached Fort Chipewyan. That rock Mackenzie decorated with his sign is in latitude about 52° 30′. Nearly all his explorations, after leaving Peace River, were made below 55°, which will have a bearing on the questions surrounding the once magic phrase of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight."

Mackenzie's journey was filled with thrilling adventures. His men frequently threatened mutiny, calling out all the native tact and firmness of the leader. At Bella Coola village the Indians stole an ax. Mackenzie sat down on his upturned boat with his rifle on his knees and waited for its return, — a sinister but ridiculous method of reprisal considering the superior force of the natives. But Indians cannot stand a siege. The ax was soon restored to its owner. On the banks of the Fraser, Mackenzie had met an Indian boy who was told the white men would trade for furs. Returning by that place, three beaver skins were found tied to the limb of a tree. Mackenzie took them and left three times their value in goods. On leaving the Fraser, Mackenzie had taken an Indian guide, who sickened when the homeward journey was begun in haste through the Bella Coola region. The leader practically carried that Indian to safety. This act calls forth the following tribute from Hubert Howe Bancroft: —

"Among the many fine qualities I find in Alexander Mackenzie which command my admiration; among the many brave and humane acts done during this hazardous journey, none have so stirred my heart-felt respect as his kind and loyal treatment on Bella Coola River of his sick Indian guide, who but for the severe and self-denying labor of the commander, whose men refused their hearty

[1] Mackenzie, "Voyages," p. 349.

assistance, must have been left to perish amongst his foes — an act worthy of higher commendation than even his grand excursion." [1]

Mackenzie urged the British to follow up the advantage gained by his explorations in the following language: —

"The discovery of a passage by sea, North-East or North-West from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, has for many years excited the attention of governments, and encouraged the enterprising spirit of individuals. The non-existence, however, of any such practical passage being at length determined, the practicability of a passage through the continents of Asia and America becomes an object of consideration. The Russians, who first discovered that, along the coasts of Asia no useful or regular navigation existed, opened an interior communication by rivers, &c., through that long and wide-extended continent, to the strait that separates Asia from America, over which they passed to the adjacent islands and continent of the latter. Our situation at length, is in some degree similar to theirs: the non-existence of a practicable passage by sea, and the existence of one through the continent are clearly proved; and it requires only the countenance and support of the British Government, to increase in a very ample proportion this national advantage, and secure the trade of that country to its subjects." [2]

[1] Bancroft, Works, Vol. XXVII, p. 703.
[2] Mackenzie, "Voyages," pp. 407–408.





MERIWETHER LEWIS



WILLIAM CLARK

Leaders of the famous Lewis and Clark Exploring Expedition



CHAPTER VI

LEWIS AND CLARK

THE Lewis and Clark expedition was an evolution from the mind of Thomas Jefferson. Just when that far-seeing statesman first conceived the idea of probing into the mysteries of the lands beyond the Mississippi, it is difficult to say, but a fairly good beginning place of the evolution is at hand. A few years ago Professor F. J. Turner gave to the world, from the rich manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a newly discovered letter from Thomas Jefferson to the hero of the Ohio campaigns, George Rogers Clark. It was dated at Annapolis, December 4, 1783, and contained the following: "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. They pretend it is only to promote knowledge. I am afraid they have thought of colonizing into that quarter. Some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making an attempt to search that country, but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. How would you like to lead such a party? Though I am afraid our prospect is not worth the question." That letter may be taken as the beginning of the expedition, the leadership of which, twenty years later, was to be shared by the younger brother of George Rogers Clark.

Jefferson proceeded, as American Minister, to France, and there his interest in the Western lands was revived by the appearance of one of the most singular characters in American history, John Ledyard, of Connecticut. Ledyard had been with Cook on his voyage to the northwest coast, and though his private journal was taken away

from him, he managed to prepare an account of his observations, which was published in Hartford in 1783, the same year that Jefferson wrote the letter to Clark. Ledyard then spent several months trying to induce his countrymen to send an expedition to those far lands. Failing, he went back to Europe, and was recalled just as he was starting on his cherished quest by sea. Going to Paris, he laid his heart open before Jefferson, who responded with enthusiasm and helped him get passports to travel through Russia. His winter journey on foot to St. Petersburg, where he arrived in March, 1786, without shoes or stockings, demonstrated his marvelous capacity for enduring hardships. He continued from St. Petersburg across Russia to the Pacific, but here it was found that Catharine II had changed her mind. He was arrested, hurried back over the Siberian steppes, and deposited in Poland. Heartily discouraged, he made his way to London where his friend, Sir Joseph Banks, asked him to lead an expedition into Africa. He at once assented, and when asked when he would be ready to start, replied: "To-morrow morning."[1] He died in 1788 just as he was starting from Cairo.

Jefferson was greatly disappointed over the outcome of this attempt to explore those Western lands. On his return to America he favored the proposal of the French botanist, André Michaux, to extend his researches to the Pacific with one American companion. This expedition was recalled when it was found that Michaux was in sympathy, if not in league, with the schemes of Citizen Genet in this country during the French Revolution. When Jefferson became President, the West was still in his mind, and he chose Meriwether Lewis, who had volunteered when Michaux was sent, as his secretary, in order to study him and see if he was the proper man to lead a party on that long-cherished exploration. The President was resourceful and tactful. He needed both qualities at this juncture. He had to deal with Congress, the Western lands did not belong to the United States, and the people of Ohio and

[1] Jared Sparks, "The Life of John Ledyard" (Cambridge, Hilliard and Brown, 1828), p. 290.



Kentucky were clamoring for a right to navigate the Mississippi. The purchase of Louisiana is often, though wrongly, cited as one of the reasons for the Lewis and Clark expedition. Jefferson's administration had learned that France, through a recent treaty, had obtained a retrocession of that province from Spain, so American Minister Livingston had been instructed to negotiate in Paris for the purchase of New Orleans to secure for Americans the navigation of the Mississippi. Monroe was sent to aid these negotiations. Early in July, 1803, the astonishing news was received that Napoleon had sold the United States, not only New Orleans, but the entire province of Louisiana. Of course this increased the incentive for the expedition and removed one of the obstacles by changing the sovereignty over the route to be pursued. Yet months before Jefferson had tactfully arranged all the details of the expedition.

On January 18, 1803, he had sent a confidential message to Congress,[1] discussing the advisability of continuing the trading houses among the Indians and closing with a request for approval of his plan to send out an exploring expedition. While designing to screen from the world the purpose of the undertaking, he frankly avows his plan to Congress, to "advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent." Congress approved the plan and appropriated the $2500 asked for in the message. Lewis was appointed to lead the expedition, but was later allowed to share that leadership with his friend Captain William Clark. The men of the party were recruited from the military posts on the Ohio. Jefferson, with his own hand, wrote minute instructions, including a remarkable letter of credit for Lewis. The party assembled and wintered near the mouth of the Missouri River. In 1804, they ascended the Missouri River to the Mandan Indian village, called Fort Mandan, north of the present Bismarck, North Dakota, and opposite the entrance of Big Knife River

[1] James D. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents" (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1896), Vol. I, pp. 352–354.

into the Missouri.[1] Here a number of sheltering huts were built, and the men were made comfortable for the long, hard winter before them. Those winter months were by no means wasted in idleness. Journeys were made in studying the country, and again information was gleaned. In fact, while it has always seemed that the expedition used a great amount of time in making the journey to the sea, no reader of the journals will accuse the party of idleness at any point. One of the most interesting events at Fort Mandan was the party's acquisition of the Frenchman, Chaboneau, as interpreter, and his Indian slave wife Sacajawea. Elliott Coues, in commenting on the muster roll returned by Lewis, says Chaboneau was a fairly good interpreter, but consisted mostly of a tongue to wag in a mouth to fill, and was a minus quantity in comparison with his wife, Sacajawea, the wonderful "Bird-woman," who contributed a full man's share to the success of the expedition, besides taking care of her baby.[2] It was eminently proper that the women of Oregon and Washington, inspired by the story[3] from the pen of a gifted Oregon writer, should unveil in Portland, at the time of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, a fine statue of this helpful Indian woman.

As the party left Fort Mandan on April 7, 1805, it consisted of thirty-two people. A number of changes had taken place since the original start a year before. Sergeant Charles Floyd had died on August 4, 1804, and Liberti had been lost, fourteen were sent back from Fort Mandan, and a few were added. The party making the journey to the sea comprised, in addition to the two leaders, the following: sergeants — John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor, Patrick Gass; privates — William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Peter Cruzatte, Joseph Fields, Reuben Fields, Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall,

[1] See map in Olin D. Wheeler, "The Trail of Lewis and Clark" (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), Vol. I, p. 193.

[2] Coues, "Lewis and Clark," Vol. I, p. 190.

[3] Eva Emery Dye, "The Conquest" (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1902).



STATUE OF SACAJAWEA BY ALICE COOPER





Thomas P. Howard, Francis Labiche, Baptiste Lepage, Hugh McNeal, John Potts, George Shannon, John Shields, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor, Peter Wiser; interpreters — George Drewyer, Toussaint Chaboneau, Sacajawea, York, the negro slave, belonging to Captain Clark.

The journals tell of the progress, day by day, of rivers discovered and named, of antelopes, deer, elks, and buffaloes in abundance, of encounters with the ferocious grizzly bears, until on one day they passed from the eastward-flowing streams to where the waters flowed toward the Pacific — they were on the "Great Divide." It was in August when they met the first Rocky Mountain Indians, and, to the great joy of all, Sacajawea recognized her sister. Both had been captured and sold as slaves by Indian enemies, but this one had escaped and returned to her people. And then, to increase the good fortune, it was found that the chief of this tribe was a brother of Sacajawea. Of course the chief and his tribe became friends of the white strangers. Horses were furnished and help rendered in the descent of the steep and hazardous mountain slopes. Clark explored the Salmon River at its confluence with a larger stream which he named for his companion, Lewis River. It is now known as Snake River. Impassable gorges and cañons were encountered until they found a way down the Clearwater to its junction with Lewis or Snake River. Here they met the Chopunnish, or Nez Percé, Indians to whom they gave a splendid reputation for kindliness and honesty.

They continued their careful observations of the country and the natives as they traveled in canoes down the Snake to the Columbia and down that river to the sea. On the bank of a little stream, now called Lewis and Clark River, they built a stockaded winter home which they named, for their Indian neighbors, Fort Clatsop. The winter was tedious in the extreme. Food was poor and scarce. The men hunted and fished while the leaders worked on their investigations, writing up the journals, and completing the map of the country explored. One

group of men was sent to the sea-coast, seven miles away, to boil the sea-water for a needed supply of salt. Letters were given the Indians to show future visitors that the Americans had been at that place. One other significant thing was the bestowal of medals upon the leading Indians. These medals had on one side a portrait of the President inscribed: "Th. Jefferson, President of the United States, 1801"; on the other side: "Peace and Friendship," below which were a crossed pipe and tomahawk surmounting two clasped hands. Bancroft tells of a number of references made to one of these medals found October 14, 1836. In the winter of 1891–1892, the present writer saw one that had just been found in the sands at the confluence of the Walla Walla and the Columbia rivers. The theory was that it had been buried with the chief who had received it from Lewis and Clark.

Fort Clatsop was left on March 23, 1806, and the homeward journey was begun with hopeful haste. The party divided in the mountains to explore the country surrounding the Yellowstone and Maria's rivers. Adventures were not wanting. Lewis was wounded in an encounter with Indians on Maria's River when he attempted to inflict punishment for the theft of a horse. However, the two parties united on the Missouri, and they hastened to Fort Mandan, where they bade adieu to their friends, including Chaboneau and Sacajawea. The last entry of the journal is brief but pointed: —

"September 23d, descended to the Mississippi, and round to St. Louis, where we arrived at twelve o'clock; and having fired a salute, went on shore and received the heartiest and most hospitable welcome from the whole village."

As in the case of Captain Gray's discoveries, these explorations of the Columbia River and its tributaries were fundamental in their important bearings on American claims to the Northwest.



CHAPTER VII

QUEST OF FURS AND TRAILS

FIVE years after the completion of the Lewis and Clark exploration, the overland party of the Astor enterprise toiled, suffered, and triumphed over the new but dimly blazed trails. Their work was in the interest of occupation rather than exploration, for which reason it will be discussed in a later chapter. Following the unfortunate failure of the great Astor plans, other adventurous American fur hunters braved the dangers of the distant and unknown portions of the far West. Much of their work deserves a record among the explorations, though it would be an easy matter to overestimate the importance of this phase of Oregon's development. Professor Turner has shown how early Indian trading posts have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburg, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City.[1] This natural transition of the fur-trading post of the frontier into the commercial metropolis did not occur in Old Oregon, with the possible exceptions of Boise and Victoria. The reasons for a different development here embrace much of the charm and romance of American history on the northwest coast. There was no lavish hoard of gold to lure a conquest and plunder of the natives as in Mexico and Peru. There were no buffalo herds tempting the trapper to risk a neglect of other food supplies as on the plains and the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. About the only tempting product of the Oregon wilderness was the beaver. As the ermine drew the Russian eastward to the Pacific, so the beaver drew the Ameri-

[1] Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893, Washington, 1894), pp. 199–227.

can westward to the same ocean. In that ocean were found furs much more valuable than the beaver. However, the deck of the vessel was the trading post, and profits were counted in Boston, London, or St. Petersburg. But the beaver was by no means to be despised. Hunters bravely passed the Rocky Mountain barrier in its quest. At the conclusion of the War of 1812 the Astor enterprise had failed. The Americans had abandoned Oregon. But the Northwest Company and later the Hudson Bay Company continued on successfully with little opposition or disturbance for a score of years. These powerful companies were equipped with capital and experience while their American competitors in the mountains were in small companies or in no companies. Oregon was won for America by diplomacy and by the pioneer settlers who built towns of their own with no regard for the fur-trading posts. When the British traders left, after the treaty of 1846, their once thriving posts were abandoned, and are now marked by an occasional blockhouse fort, prized as a relic of the past. Perhaps an added reason why the American pioneers in Oregon did not develop towns around fur-trading posts may be found in the decline in the value of beaver skins. One singular reason for this decline was the introduction of the silk hat from Florence into Paris about 1825,[1] and its development into the garment of fashion, much to the injury of the trade in beaver skins. John Jacob Astor wrote from Europe in May, 1830, closing his partnership with a fur-trading company of St. Louis, and in another letter of the same time said: "I very much fear beaver will not sell well very soon unless very fine. It appears that they make hats of silk in place of beaver."[2] The permanent settlement in Oregon was wholly subsequent to this change.

General W. H. Ashley and his friend, Andrew Henry, were

[1] See article on Hat in Encyclopædia Britannica, where it is shown that "hattes of biever" were worn in the twelfth century. Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" gives this line: "On his head a Flaundrish bever hat." Beaver hats were generally worn until supplanted by the French development of the silk hat.

[2] Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," Vol. I, p. 364.





British Blockhouse at Fort Colville





among the early men to achieve success in the mountains. Their trappers discovered the famous South Pass, the emigrant's gateway through the Rockies. In 1826, Ashley sold out to Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette, all famous and successful fur traders, but the first one of especial interest here. "Jedediah S. Smith was one of the most remarkable men that ever engaged in the American Fur Trade. He was like that distinguished character of later years, Stonewall Jackson, in combining with the most ardent belief in, and practice of, the Christian religion, an undaunted courage, fierce and impetuous nature, and untiring energy. His deeds are unfortunately much veiled in obscurity, but enough has survived to show that he was a true knight errant, a lover of that kind of adventure which the unexplored West afforded in such ample degree." [1]

In 1826, Smith performed, first of white men, the arduous journey from the Rocky Mountains to California, which he ever after referred to as the most beautiful land on the globe. The next year in repeating the journey he lost most of his men at the hands of the Mojave Indians. He recruited his company, and in 1828, was the first white man to make the overland trip from California to Oregon, arriving at Fort Vancouver in August. On this trip the Indians had again attacked him, plundering his property and killing all of the party except the leader and three others. Doctor McLoughlin not only received this rival trader in kindness, but sent among the Indian robbers, recovered the furs, and then bought them of Smith, giving him a draft on London for $20,000. Smith left Fort Vancouver on March 12, 1829, and followed the Hudson Bay Company route to Fort Walla Walla, from which he struck out northeast for Spokane House. Next he visited Flathead Post, and thence south

[1] Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," Vol. I, pp. 252–254, where is also cited from a manuscript by William Waldo in the Missouri Historical Society collection: "Smith was a bold, outspoken, professing, and consistent Christian, the first and only one known among the early Rocky Mountain trappers and hunters. No one who knew him well doubted the sincerity of his piety."

and east to the southeastern part of the present Idaho, meeting his partner Jackson on the way, and on August 5, 1829, they met Sublette, when the three partners were again together. Major Chittenden calls attention to the fact that Albert Gallatin's great work for Western geography in connection with his "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America," was enriched by the use of manuscript notes from Ashley, Smith, and their associates.[1]

Captain B. L. E. Bonneville has long been held one of the charming heroes by those who love the annals of the West. Notwithstanding the fact that his reputation suffers a severe shrinkage when subjected to historical analysis, the man certainly had a remarkable career. Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville was born in France in 1795, came early to America, was appointed a cadet at West Point from New York, graduated in 1815, and in 1820 was building a military road through Mississippi. He had his remarkable adventures in the far West from 1831 to 1835, then fought through the Mexican War, returned as commandant at Fort Vancouver from 1852 to 1856, served on the frontier in the Southwest, and was retired for disability September 9, 1861. Though on the retired list, he saw garrison and recruiting service throughout the war between the States, and in 1865 was honored with brevet promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General for long and faithful services. He died at Fort Smith, Arkansas, June 12, 1878, the oldest officer on the retired list of the United States army.

The exaggerated idea of his work is easily traced to the wide popularity of Washington Irving's book, which, in the later editions, bore the brief title: "Adventures of Captain Bonneville." The first edition, published in 1837, bore the long title: "The Rocky Mountains, or Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West; Digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville of the Army of the United States, and Illustrated from Various Other Sources." This shows that the distinguished author did not desire to attribute all the deeds recorded to Captain Bonneville.

[1] "American Fur Trade," Vol. I, p. 307.

One recent and reliable historian, though kind and just to Bonneville, calls him a "history-made man." [1]

Bonneville conceived the desire of becoming rich, as others had been doing, in the fur trade. Knowing he could not get a leave of absence from the army for such purpose, he made application for his leave, and promised to do a wonderful number of things for the United States. In granting the leave, Major-general Alexander Macomb was shrewd enough to preface it, "for the purpose of enabling you to carry into execution your design." Even so the letter,[2] dated August 3, 1831, was one of the most remarkable ever received by an American soldier. He was to explore the country to the Rocky Mountains and beyond, ascertain the nature and character of the several tribes of Indians and the possible trade with them, "the quality of the soil, the productions, the minerals, the natural history, the climate, the geography and topography, as well as geology, of the various parts of the country within the limits of the territories belonging to the United States, between our frontier and the Pacific"—in fact, he was to do all that has since been attempted by such costly agencies of the government as the Bureau of Ethnology, the Census Bureau, the Agricultural Department bureaus, and the Geological Survey. He was to do all that at his own expense. All the government would do was to grant him a leave of absence until October, 1833.

He found associates for his enterprise in New York who provided the necessary funds, and on May 1, 1832, he left Fort Osage on the Missouri with one hundred and ten men

[1] Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," Vol. I, pp. 396–397: "Captain Bonneville, so far as his work in the Rocky mountains is concerned, is a history-made man. Irving's popular work, which in later editions bears Captain Bonneville's name, is not in reality so much a record of that officer's adventures, as it is of all the transactions of a period in which the business of the fur trade in the Rocky mountains was at its height. Scarcely a third of the work has to do exclusively with Bonneville, but around this theme as a nucleus are gathered the events of the most interesting era of the fur trade, until the central figure in the narrative is encased in a frame more costly and attractive than the picture itself."

[2] Published as an appendix to Irving's book.

and twenty wagons. To get these men and goods he had relied on the general desire for participation in the lucrative fur trade. He was helped in these arrangements by Alfred Seton, one of the returned Astorians. With his party organized on military lines, he marched up the valley of the Platte, through South Pass, arriving at Green River (southwestern Wyoming) on July 27. Fort Bonneville was constructed, but trappers called it "Fort Nonsense" because it was found of no use and was abandoned before being occupied. The first winter quarters were fixed on the banks of Salmon River in Idaho, but again he changed when Indians swarmed around his camp. His party was divided and sent in different directions, some hunting and others herding the horses in protected pastures. At the end of the first year, Bonneville found that he had accumulated scarcely enough beaver skins to pay the wages of his men. In telling of his plans, Bonneville declared that they included a survey of Great Salt Lake by a party of his men under I. R. Walker. Recent evidence from diaries of some of the men discloses the fact that from the first it was intended as a hunting trip through California to the coast. This party made the trip, spent a wild and luxurious winter among the Spaniards, and returned to the mountain rendezvous in the following June. It is most famous, or the reverse, for the murder of a number of poor Digger Indians in revenge for the theft of a beaver trap. Later in a so-called battle half a hundred of these most inoffensive of natives were slaughtered.

In the meantime Captain Bonneville had sent out detachments of hunters, and had himself been active, but to no great purpose. The older traders had evidently spoiled the fields for him, having him tracked by Crow Indians, who watched for a chance to rob him. Placing his men in winter quarters on Portneuf River, he took three men and started on Christmas morning, 1833, for the Columbia River. After many hardships he reached Fort Walla Walla on March 4, 1834, but was disappointed that the Hudson Bay Company refused to sell him supplies. He beat a hasty retreat, and found his winter camp on May 12.

That year he took his party of hunters down the Snake River and along the Columbia to a point below the Walla Walla River. Food became scarce. None could be obtained in the country, as the policy of the Hudson Bay Company was to starve out rival fur traders, however kind they might be to individuals and missionaries. Another winter was spent in the mountains, and in the following summer, 1835, Captain Bonneville left the mountains. His expedition was a failure. His leave of absence had long since expired. He had failed to report to his superior officer. He was dropped from the rolls of the army, and it took him over two years, even with the help of President Jackson, to secure reinstatement.

After the settlement of the Oregon boundary, United States troops were stationed at Fort Vancouver in 1849. Three years later, in September, 1852, Lieutenant-colonel Bonneville arrived there with two hundred and sixty-eight men, a skeleton of the Fourth Infantry. For four years he was in command at the old headquarters of the company that had helped on his failure twenty years before. Some of the Hudson Bay Company officers were still there, and toward these Colonel Bonneville manifested a kindly courtesy that speaks well for the native gentility of the man.[1]

Though Bonneville had been unsuccessful as a fur trader, he had won the friendship of many Indians. The late Colonel Granville O. Haller told an interesting instance of this friendship. Before relating it, the reader should be informed that Bonneville was a bald-headed man. While Colonel Haller was stationed at The Dalles, Chief Lawyer, of the Nez Percés, came there to see Colonel Forsythe. He had just gone to Fort Vancouver. The chief decided to follow him there, and Colonel Haller agreed to accompany him. The officers invited the chief to dinner. "Whenever," said Colonel Haller, "you hear it stated that an Indian

[1] In the summer of 1901, the present writer examined a number of letters and orders at Fort Vancouver bearing Bonneville's signature. Lieutenants U. S. Grant and Philip H. Sheridan were there during part of that time in the early '50's.

never betrays his feelings, remember this example to the contrary." Chief Lawyer at once noticed one man at the table whom he did not recognize. Whoever spoke to him, he would furtively glance at that man, who was none other than Colonel Bonneville. After a while Bonneville, speaking in Nez Percé, asked for an old chief long since dead.

"That was my father!" exclaimed Lawyer.

Without excitement, Bonneville asked for another chief.

"That was my brother!"

The chief now glared at this baffling, mild-mannered stranger, who finally reached up his hand and removed his wig, when Lawyer jumped to his feet and shouted:—

"Bald-headed Chief!"

Contemporary with Captain Bonneville was Nathaniel J. Wyeth whose varied services for Oregon deserve separate treatment in a chapter by themselves. In 1839, Thomas J. Farnham, of Peoria, Illinois, started with fourteen "city-builders," who paraded through Peoria bearing a banner inscribed: "Oregon or the Grave." Eleven were appalled by the dangers encountered before crossing the Rockies. The brave leader, with three of his men, completed the journey, visited the Whitman and the Methodist missions, made careful and accurate observations of the country and the people, and returned home by way of the Sandwich Islands, California, and Mexico. Farnham published a book called "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oregon Territory." The book was later published in pamphlet form as an extra of the *New York Tribune* with the super-head: "Useful Works for the People. No. I." Occasion will arise later to refer to the great influence exercised by that book.

If John Charles Frémont is entitled to the name of "Pathfinder," then dozens of his predecessors in the far West should be given the greater name of "Pathmakers." That statement holds particularly true in connection with his work in the Pacific Northwest. His life was full of romance, some of which, embroidered with the frills of political imaginings and the spangles of fervid oratory, has flaunted itself on the pages of sober history.



Captain John C. Frémont



He was born in Savannah, Georgia, on January 21, 1813. In 1828, he entered Charleston College, but before graduating was expelled for inattention and frequent absences. Those were the days before George Bancroft had established the United States Naval Academy, and the middies were taught at sea. Frémont became one of those teachers, and made such a good record that Charleston College relented and gave him his degree. He saw much engineering service for the United States, and was appointed by President Van Buren second lieutenant of topographical engineers in 1838. Two years later, while preparing his reports in Washington City, he fell in love with Jessie, the fifteen-year-old daughter of Thomas H. Benton, the old bull-dog senator from Missouri. The parents objected, and Senator Benton quietly persuaded the Secretary of War to send the young officer on a journey to the frontier. This duty was hastily performed. Frémont returned to Washington, and the lovers were secretly married on October 19, 1841. After that he led the five expeditions to the West on which rests his fame as a "pathfinder." He was in California at the outbreak of the Mexican War, taking a prominent part in the conquest of that province. He was selected as military governor of California, but later quarreled with General S. W. Kearney, who, on August 22, 1847, caused his arrest and ordered him to report to the adjutant-general. There he demanded an immediate trial by court-martial. He was found guilty of "mutiny" and similar offenses, and was sentenced to dismissal from the army. President Polk remitted the penalty, but Frémont resigned and thereafter bore the expense of his explorations out of his own means. On one of his trips his men were reduced to cannibalism. In John Bigelow's campaign "Memoir" of 1856 is a picture of hungry men with right hands lifted on high and under the picture this legend: "Colonel Frémont came out to us, and after referring to the dreadful necessities to which his men had been reduced on a previous expedition, of eating each other, he begged us to swear that in no extremity of hunger would any of his men lift his hand against or attempt to prey upon a comrade; sooner let him die with them than live upon them."

He was elected first senator from the new State of California, drawing the short term, at the end of which he visited Europe. His explorations brought him medals and honors. In 1856, he was honored with the first presidential nomination at the hands of the Republican party, but was defeated by James Buchanan. After a few years in California he again visited Europe, and while there, bought arms for the government, was appointed a major-general, and returned to assume command of the Western department. There his work is chiefly remembered for his proclamation assuming the government of the State of Missouri under martial law and announcing that he would emancipate the slaves of those found in rebellion. President Lincoln wrote asking him to revoke that emancipation proclamation as being premature. Frémont refused, and Lincoln had to annul it in a public order. Frémont later asked to be relieved rather than serve under General Pope. His request was granted, and he received no other command during the war. In 1864, a group of dissatisfied Republicans met in Cleveland and nominated Frémont. At the solicitation of a committee he wrote a letter of withdrawal saying, "not to aid in the triumph of Mr. Lincoln, but to do my part toward preventing the election of the Democratic candidate."

Soon after his marriage he had been assigned to the duty of surveying the route from the Missouri River to the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Before leaving St. Louis in June, 1842, the "Pathfinder" was fortunate enough to secure Kit Carson as guide. In justice to Frémont it should be said that he referred to his work as surveying and speaks of those who had preceded him as discoverers. He was gone on this expedition four months, during which he surveyed the region around the well-known South Pass, including the Wind River Mountains, where he ascended the highest mountain, unfurling the Stars and Stripes on the summit. Since that time the mountain has been known as Frémont Peak.

He was next ordered to connect up his reconnaissance of 1842 with the surveys made by Wilkes on the Pacific coast. He started from the Missouri frontier on May 29, 1843. In



reporting the organization of his party he says: "Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, whom many years of hardship and exposure in the Western territories had rendered familiar with a portion of the country it was designed to explore, had been selected as our guide." [1]

He had a party of thirty-nine men, well armed and equipped. They again used South Pass through the mountains, and on September 8 were at the shore of Great Salt Lake. Ten days later they had reached Fort Hall. Proceeding through Idaho along the Snake River, they arrived at what they called "Fort Nez Percé, at the mouth of Walahwalah River," on October 26. On November 4, they had reached The Dalles, and two days later were at Fort Vancouver. At Fort Walla Walla they came up with the great immigration train of a thousand souls, who had traversed the same route and had arrived there ahead of the explorers. While passing down the Columbia River the surveyor makes two interesting entries in his journal: "Being now upon the ground explored by the South Sea expedition under Captain Wilkes,[2] and having accomplished the object of uniting my survey with his, and thus presenting a connected exploration from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and the winter being at hand, I deemed it necessary to economize time by voyaging in the night." Then while passing through the river's gateway in the mountains: "The main branch of the *Sacramento* River, and the *Tlamath*, issue in cascades from this range; and the Columbia, breaking through it in a succession of cascades, gives the idea of cascades to the whole range, and hence the name of the CASCADE RANGE, which it bears, and distinguishes it from the Coast Range lower down." [3] He pays a sincere tribute to Doctor McLoughlin, "who received me with the courtesy and hospitality for which he has been eminently distinguished," and mentions the arrival of the immi-

[1] J. C. Frémont, "Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843–44" (Washington, Taylor, Wilde and Company, 1845), p. 89.

[2] The Wilkes Expedition will be the subject of a subsequent chapter.

[3] Frémont, "Narrative," pp. 172–173

grants at the fort, "and all of them had been furnished with shelter, so far as it could be afforded by the buildings connected with the establishment."

Without seeking winter quarters Frémont returned to The Dalles, and on November 25 began the return trip, bending his course southward. By December 10, he had made what he estimated as two hundred and fifty miles, arriving at Klamath Lake. Here he remained two days when, resuming his journey, he crossed the Mexican boundary and was in California. He traveled all winter, crossed the Sierra Nevada in February, and arrived at Nueva Helvetia (Sutter's Fort [1]) on March 6. From there they began their homeward journey on March 25, and arrived at the Missouri terminus of the expedition on August 1, 1844. On the third expedition he had reached Klamath Lake in southern Oregon, but there received orders sending him back to California, where he participated in the conquest, as already stated. His fourth expedition was at his own expense in 1848, and was directed toward California, as was also the fifth expedition in 1853. This was undertaken because the government had begun to survey for transcontinental railway routes, and Frémont hurried home from Europe to participate in that work even though he did so at his own expense.

Frémont's career as a whole suffers from the rashness displayed in 1861, while in command in Missouri, and especially from his attitude toward President Lincoln. While the pet name "pathfinder" was an exaggeration, his surveys were valuable, and his maps and books were immensely popular. Large numbers were circulated. One instance of how commonly and widely they were distributed is found in Parkman's "Oregon Trail," where the famous historian, sojourning in 1846 among the Sioux on the plains for his health, tells of the men at Fort Laramie using the pages of Frémont's Journal to make fire-crackers for the celebration of the Fourth of July.

[1] John A. Sutter had been a Swiss soldier, which accounts for the Spanish name Nueva Helvetia, meaning New Switzerland. Sutter's Fort was on the present site of Sacramento, where Sutter had a large grant from the Mexican government.





NATHANIEL J. WYETH

CHAPTER VIII

NATHANIEL J. WYETH

"WYETH and Whitman will always stand as representative American heroes because of their resolute initiative and achievement in connection with this American problem of expansion to continental proportions." [1] And another Oregon writer says that "Wyeth's enterprise is in a very real sense a bridge between the purely commercial era of northwestern history and the era of actual colonization." [2] The character of Wyeth had a fascination for James Russell Lowell, who was a boy of twelve years of age when Wyeth started on his first journey to Oregon. Lowell, while United States Minister to Spain, in 1880, wrote to Professor Max Müller at Oxford about his discussion of jade tools, in the course of which letter he remarked: "I remember very well the starting of an expedition from my native town of Cambridge in 1831 [1832], for Oregon, under the head of a Captain of great energy and resource. They started in waggons ingeniously contrived so as to be taken to pieces, the body forming a boat for crossing rivers. They carried everything they could think of with them, and got safely to the other side of the continent, as hard a job, I fancy, as our Aryan ancestors had to do." [3] Again, in 1890, Lowell wrote to the Portland, Oregon, High School on the occasion of a Lowell evening: "I feel as if I had a kind of birthright in your Portland, for it was a townsman of mine who first led an expedition thither across the plains and

[1] F. G. Young, editor, "The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth" (Eugene, Oregon, University Press, 1899), p. xiv.

[2] Schafer, "History of the Pacific Northwest," p. 145.

[3] The *Critic* for May 22, 1897, commenting on Max Müller's Recollections.

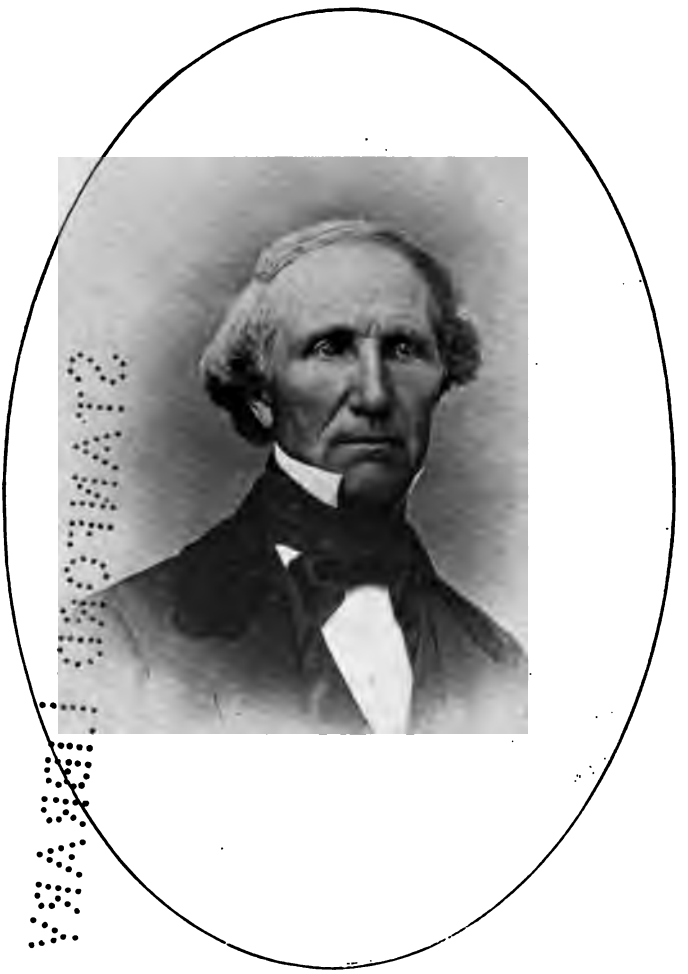
tried to establish a settlement there. I well remember his starting sixty years ago, and knew him well in after years. He was a very remarkable person whose conversation I valued highly. A born leader of men, he was fitly called *Captain* Nathaniel Wyeth as long as he lived. It was the weakness of his companions that forced him to let go his hold on that fair possession. I hope he is duly honored in your traditions." [1]

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth certainly deserves to be honored in the traditions of the Northwest even though the enterprises in themselves resulted in discomforting failures. He was aroused to the possibilities in the Oregon question by the writings of Hall J. Kelley, and in 1831, agreed to join the first expedition sent out by that enthusiastic Boston schoolmaster's Oregon Colonization Society. But explorers did not assemble at the society's call, and Wyeth began with energy to organize an expedition of his own. He knew men in Boston who had become wealthy in the Northwest fur trade by way of the sea, and he knew others who desired to participate in such trade. He arranged for a cargo of goods to be shipped in the *Sultana*, and he, with twenty enthusiastic companions, left Boston on March 11, 1832, to reach Oregon by the overland route. They sailed to Baltimore, where they took a railroad for sixty miles toward Pittsburg, and marching on to that place, they took a steamer to St. Louis. There they joined a party of veteran fur traders who quickly persuaded them to discard those new-fangled amphibious vehicles. As the journey became irksome and dangers thickened, members of Wyeth's party deserted. One of these, a kinsman named John B. Wyeth, wrote a pessimistic account of the undertaking, saying: "To my knowledge, not another member of the party ever returned so far eastward as the New England States." He had arrived in Boston on January 2, 1833, at which very time eleven of the braver ones of the original party were at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, where they had arrived on October 29, 1832.

[1] Reproduced by Young in edition of Wyeth's journal.



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JOHN BALL
First School Teacher in the Pacific Northwest



They were without funds, but by no means discouraged. Doctor John McLoughlin treated them well, and in fact he and Wyeth became warm personal friends. John Ball, a member of this party, gathered the children of the fort together, and began a little school on January 1, 1833. This was the first school in the Pacific Northwest. The *Sultana* did not arrive. In fact, Wyeth got news that the brig was wrecked. Even this could not dampen the ardor of this natural leader. Some of his men settled in the country, while he with two others set out for Boston. He had shrewdly observed the possibilities of profit in the salmon fisheries on the Columbia. On reaching Boston, he organized the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company, and persuaded his brother Charles to help him purchase a quarter interest in the company for himself. Another cargo was sent out by sea in the *May Dacre*, which also carried supplies for the Jason Lee mission party. By the middle of March, 1834, Wyeth was at Independence with fifty men. Two naturalists, well known in the biological annals of the Northwest,—Thomas Nuttall and John K. Townsend,—were to travel with Wyeth, as were the members of the Lee mission. They started from Independence on April 28, and had the usual adventures and tribulations attending that long journey over the plains and mountains. On July 14, he picked out a place at the juncture of the Portneuf and Snake rivers for the establishment of his interior post. He called it Fort Hall, and on August 5, the Stars and Stripes were unfurled over this emporium of a rude wilderness trade.[1] Wyeth pushed on to the Columbia, arriving at Fort Vancouver on September 16, a short time before the arrival of the *May Dacre*. When the ship and his goods were received, he crossed the Columbia to Wapato, now Sauve, Island and constructed Fort William. For lack of experi-

[1] In a letter to his Uncle Jarvis on October 6, 1834, Wyeth wrote: "We manufactured a magnificent flag from some unbleached sheeting, a little red flannel, and a few blue patches . . . and after all it makes, I do assure you, a very respectable appearance amid the dry and desolate regions of central America." Published in Young's edition of the correspondence and journals, p. 146.

ence or packing facilities, the salmon fishing failed. The Hudson Bay Company was adroit enough to cut off the American's efforts at the Indian fur trade. Wyeth earnestly tried, but he failed. Later events showed that he pioneered the way for other Americans. He struggled on until 1836, when he sold out and returned to Boston. There he gained fame and fortune in the ice business.

In 1843, while writing "Adventures of Captain Bonneville," Washington Irving received a letter from Mr. Wyeth which he published in the appendix to that book as follows: "Are you aware of the fact that in the winter of 1833 a Japanese junk was wrecked on the northwest coast, in the neighborhood of Queen Charlotte's Island, and that all but two of the crew, then much reduced by starvation and disease, during a long drift across the Pacific, were killed by the natives? The two fell into the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and were sent to England. I saw them, on my arrival at Vancouver, in 1834." This well-authenticated record of an accidental voyage seems to point to Japan as the source of some of the bits of iron in the hands of the Indians of the West when first encountered by white visitors.

The publication of Wyeth's correspondence and journals revived an enlightened interest in his work, but previous to that the members of his family felt that the annals of the Northwest were ignoring a great character. One of these, John A. Wyeth, M.D., wrote in 1892 a magazine article [1] about the expeditions, giving a fine portrait of the leader and closing with this question: —

"Will Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, with their three-quarters of a million inhabitants within fifty-five years of the time he left it, when there was not a single American settler in that country, their busy cities, fertile farms, their transcontinental railroads, their ocean steamers, clearing for China, Japan, and the Orient, and their glorious future, of which this is but the dawn, deem Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth a failure?"

[1] John A. Wyeth, "Nathaniel J. Wyeth and the Struggle for Oregon" (*Harper's Magazine*, November, 1892), pp. 835–847.



CHAPTER IX

THE WILKES EXPEDITION

THE proper title of this world-wide scientific enterprise is "The United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838 to 1842." It is important to the history of the Pacific Northwest, especially the Puget Sound region, where explorations of real value were made. Aside from this, there was another way in which the expedition was of value. No longer would the reputation of the Oregon country depend upon the trails blazed by Lewis and Clark and traced through their privately published journals; no longer would it depend upon the magnificent classics of Washington Irving, the letters and journals of missionaries, fur hunters, or pathfinders, or upon the fearless, persistent, and effective work of the pioneer advocates in Congress like Representatives Floyd and Bailies, and Senators Linn and Benton, and, out of Congress, like Hall J. Kelley, — the Boston schoolmaster; from this time on, Oregon would be further known through a publication having upon it the stamp of approval by the United States government. Congress at once provided for the publication of the records in a form similar to the "Voyage of the Astrolabe," published by the government of France. The large sumptuous folio pages were described as a "rivulet of narrative meandering through a meadow of margin." Only one hundred copies were to be printed — one for each of the principal officers of the expedition, one for the Library of Congress, one for the Naval Lyceum at Brooklyn, one for each State, one for each friendly power, France and Great Britain each to have a second copy. Thirty years, from 1844 to 1874, were required to finish the great scientific monographs, and even then five of the twenty-four volumes



were left unfinished and unpublished. Many of the sets given to States have been plundered or destroyed, so the work as a whole is not easy of access, especially for Western searchers. However, the narrative, without the atlases or monographs, has been separately published in more compact form, notably the edition by Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1845. When this edition appeared, it was promptly and generously reviewed in America's greatest literary vehicle of the day,[1] which did much good in exploiting the vast work of the expedition, but incidentally took occasion to criticise without stint the frailties of Wilkes, the leader.

Historians' use of the short-cut title of "Wilkes Expedition" has created an interest in the leader beyond what would have been the case had the longer title persisted. In spite of some annoying flaws, the public career of Charles Wilkes was long and useful. He was born in New York City, April 3, 1798. He entered the navy as a midshipman on January 1, 1818, and in 1830, as lieutenant, was assigned to the department of charts and instruments. He is credited with being the first to set up fixed astronomical instruments and observe with them. His skill with instruments caused his selection to lead the Exploring Expedition, over-leaping many of higher rank. This created animosities among naval officers and their friends, and, still worse, it inflated the man's opinion of himself until he did and said many inexcusable things. He attained the rank of Commander in 1843 and of Captain in 1855. From 1844 to 1861, he was engaged on work with the expedition reports. When the war between the States broke out, he was given command of the steamer *San Jacinto*, in which, on November 8, 1861, he overhauled the British steamer *Trent*, and made prisoners of the Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, an event which nearly provoked a war between Great Britain and the United States. Wilkes was thanked by Congress and applauded by the people, but through the kindly intervention of

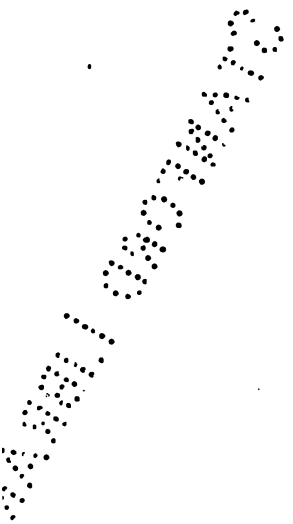
[1] *North American Review*, July, 1845, pp. 54–107.





COMMANDER CHARLES WILKES







Queen Victoria and the shrewdness of Lincoln and Seward, war was averted and the prisoners were released. After further service in the war between the States, Wilkes was retired for age on June 25, 1864, and a year later was promoted to the rank of Rear-admiral on the retired list. He died in Washington City, February 8, 1877.

After a series of aggravating delays the United States Exploring Expedition sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, on August 18, 1838. It consisted of the sloops-of-war *Vincennes* and *Peacock*, the brig *Porpoise*, the store-ship *Relief*, and the tenders *Sea Gull* and *Flying Fish*, all properly officered and manned. The scientific character of the expedition was manifested in the selection of its leader, but still more so in the carefully prepared instructions and the selection of the corps of scientists including the following: James Dwight Dana, mineralogist; Charles Pickering, Joseph P. Couthouy, T. R. Peale, naturalists; Horatio Hale, philologist; Joseph Drayton, Alfred S. Agate, artists; William Rich, botanist; J. D. Brackenridge, assistant botanist; John W. W. Dyes, assistant taxidermist. Secretary of the Navy J. K. Paulding prepared the instructions, of which one paragraph interests us particularly. It is as follows: —

"Thence you will direct your course to the Northwest Coast of America, making such surveys and examinations, first of the territory of the United States on the seaboard, and of the Columbia River, and afterwards along the coast of California, with special reference to the Bay of St. Francisco, as you can accomplish by the month of October following your arrival." [1]

These instructions were followed, and, after nearly three years of work in the Southern seas, on April 28, 1841, most of the expedition appeared off the mouth of the Columbia River. Encountering stormy weather, they continued

[1] Attention is called to the fact that the Secretary of the Navy calls Oregon the territory of the United States, though this is before the provisional government was organized, while the treaty of joint occupancy was still in force, and eight years before the treaty of 1846 settled our title to a portion of the region.

along the Washington coast, and on May 2 anchored in Port Discovery, well within the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Knowing that the Hudson Bay Company had a steamer in these waters and a settlement at Fort Nisqually, Wilkes sent for the steamer to come and lead his vessels into the vicinity of that settlement. The famous old steamer *Beaver* was undergoing repairs, but the obliging officers sent her mate to guide the squadron. Not knowing the cause of the delay, Wilkes became impatient and started to sail his vessels without a guide. He had proceeded south of Port Townsend a few miles when he met the *Beaver's* mate, and in honor of the event he named the place Pilot Cove, a name that has since remained on the charts. A little farther on he saw dogwoods in bloom, and mistaking them for apple blossoms, wrote down the name Appletree Cove. Then he honored an ex-President, who had but recently died, by naming Port Madison.

From May 11, Fort Nisqually became headquarters for the expedition, and from that point exploring excursions were made in different directions.

Lieutenant Ringgold was sent in the *Porpoise* to explore Admiralty Inlet. On May 15, he passed through the Narrows, and anchored in a bay to the eastward. Here he began his surveys the next day, and for that reason called the place Commencement Bay. The same party gave many other names such as Elliott Bay, probably in honor of Chaplain J. L. Elliott of the *Vincennes;* Bainbridge Island, in honor of the famous American Commodore William Bainbridge; Agate Passage, after Alfred S. Agate, one of the artists of the expedition; and Blakely Rock, after Captain Johnston Blakely, most famous for his work and his loss in the *Wasp* in the War of 1812. This party continued its surveys to the mouth of the Fraser River.

After leaving Port Townsend the expedition surveyed the neighboring waters, and Wilkes called the entrance to Hood Canal Port Lawrence, after that hero who became famous for his order, "Don't give up the ship." When Lieutenant Ringgold was sent to survey Admiralty Inlet, Lieutenant Case was sent in the launch, first cutter, and



two boats of the *Vincennes* to explore Port Lawrence and Hood Canal. After making a chart of that region, the party returned and made a careful survey of Puget Sound from Vashon Island southward. To the present day the United States government charts retain the memorials of this survey in the names conferred. The passage to the west of Vashon Island is Colvos Passage, in honor of Past Midshipman George M. Colvocoressis, who had a great career himself, and whose son was an officer on the *Olympia* with Dewey in the battle of Manila Bay. To the north of Fox Island is Hale's Passage, an honor for the philologist, Horatio Hale. The large waterway to the south of Fox Island, Carr's Inlet, perpetuates the name of Lieutenant Overton Carr, as does Drayton Passage the name of Joseph Drayton, the artist. The arm of Puget Sound extending northward almost to the southeastern extremity of Hood Canal was appropriately named Case's Inlet after Lieutenant A. L. Case who made the survey. Hartstene Island was named for Lieutenant H. J. Hartstein, and the water to the westward, Pickering Passage, after Charles Pickering, the naturalist. The waterway leading westward to the present city of Shelton was named Hammersley's Inlet in honor of Midshipman George W. Hammersley. Past Midshipman George M. Totten, Past Midshipman Henry Eld, and Acting Master Thomas A. Budd had their names written on the three large arms at the southern extremity of Puget Sound. All steamers to and from Olympia pass through a waterway south of Hartsteen Island, which was named Dana's Passage in honor of James Dwight Dana, the mineralogist. It was found that the southeastern part of Vashon Island was really a separate island, and in honor of Lieutenant William L. Maury it was named Maury Island. In a similar way Fox Island was named for Assistant Surgeon J. L. Fox, and Acting Master George T. Sinclair and Assistant Taxidermist John W. W. Dyes were honored in the naming of subdivisions of Port Orchard. Thomas W. Waldron, the captain's clerk, had his name given to an island in the San Juan Archipelago. Thus were the names of these officers per-

petuated in this region of their important labors, bu does not appear that the leader of the expedition gave own name to any geographic feature in the Northw Wilkes expresses gratitude for many kindnesses recei at the hands of Mr. Anderson in charge of the Hud Bay Company's Fort Nisqually and of Captain Mcl of the company's steamer *Beaver*. The names of th gentlemen have since appeared as the names of the large islands lying to the north of Nisqually.

Lieutenant Johnson, of the *Porpoise*, accompanied Dr. Pickering, T. W. Waldron, Mr. Brackenridge, Serge Stearns, and two men, was detailed to make a trip acr the mountains to Fort Colville and other interior po They were allowed eighty days for the trip, but did it less, leaving Nisqually on May 19 and returning on July a total of fifty-seven days. In this time they had cros the Cascades around the north flank of Mt. Rainier i the Yakima country, and then proceeded northward Fort Okanogan. Then they visited the Tshimakain miss station on the banks of the Spokane River, where Missi aries Eells and Walker and their wives gave them a m hospitable welcome. At Fort Colville and Fort Wa Walla the Hudson Bay Company officials rendered th every possible assistance. Dr. Marcus Whitman cal on the party at Fort Walla Walla. The Lapwai stat was visited, and the work of Missionary Spalding and v among the Nez Percés was inspected. Spokane Falls a Lake Cœur d'Alene were visited. The country was v described. Lieutenant Johnson's report is filled w interesting information about the Indians and their m of life. He had a few adventures, but none of them seric

Past Midshipman Eld led a party of explorers do the Chehalis River to Grays Harbor and then to Shc water Bay (now Willapa Harbor) and on to the Colum River.

On May 19, after the other expeditions had been star on their surveys, Wilkes took with him Drayton the art Waldron the purser, two servants, two Indians, anc Canadian guide, and started from Nisqually for a v



to the Columbia River, where he intended to visit the establishments of the Hudson Bay Company and of the missionaries. He also hoped to get word from the *Peacock* and *Flying Fish*, whose crews were left to explore among the Pacific islands, with orders to join the rest of the squadron in the Columbia River. They took the usual pony trail to Cowlitz Farms, where canoes would take them down the Cowlitz River to the Columbia and thence to Fort Vancouver. Doctor John McLoughlin and his assistant, James Douglas, representing the Hudson Bay Company, were as kind and considerate as possible. Wilkes was captivated by the urbanity of these gentlemen, and more especially by their successful rule over the wilderness people while conducting important enterprises of trade so remote from centers of real power. The American settlers were talking of a provisional government, but Wilkes advised against it. However, he successfully interceded with Doctor McLoughlin on behalf of some Americans who were building a small vessel. They needed ropes and other supplies which they could not get until Wilkes had opened the way. The mission stations at the mouth of the Columbia and on the Willamette River were visited, and the conditions surrounding them examined. Wilkes sent Drayton up the Columbia River to examine the country as far as Fort Walla Walla, where his survey would meet that of Lieutenant Johnson.

When Wilkes returned to Puget Sound, he set about preparations to give his men a holiday on the approaching anniversary of Independence Day. A beef was barbecued, music provided, flags unfurled, salutes fired, and a procession marched to the shore of Sequalitchew Lake, back of Nisqually, and there the day was spent in jollification. This was the first Fourth of July celebration in the Northwest. On July 5, 1906, the Washington State Historical Society commemorated this event in a most appropriate manner by unveiling a monument at that place. Many prominent people took part, including the Indian Slugamus Koquilton, who had been present at the original celebration sixty-five years before.

Lieutenant Wilkes was much pleased with the newly established Methodist mission at Nisqually. He exchanged courtesies with Doctor J. P. Richmond and William H. Willson of this mission, and called at their home. "Here I found Mrs. Richmond and Mrs. Wilson, with four fine, rosy, and fat children, whose appearance spoke volumes for the health of the climate." This was the first American home in the Puget Sound country.

After leaving Nisqually, the surveying was continued around the San Juan Archipelago. At that place a messenger overtook them with the news that the *Peacock* was wrecked, but that all lives were saved. The squadron then hastened to the scene of the wreck at the mouth of the Columbia River. Dana has left a graphic picture of that wreck as follows:[1]—

"And still another scene, more than two years later, one beautiful Sunday in the summer of 1841, when, after a cruise of some months through the tropics, we were expecting soon to land on the shores of the Columbia; of the vessel suddenly stopped on the grinding sands; there, as the waves passed, rising and falling with heavy blows on the fatal bar that made the timbers to quiver and creak, and then through a long night, the waters gaining in spite of the pumps; — morning come, the old craft that had been a home for three eventful years, deserted, the boats carrying us empty handed, to Cape Disappointment — a name that tells of other vessels here deceived and wrecked;[2] and, twenty hours later, the old *Peacock* gone, her upper decks swept off by the waves, the hulk buried in the sands."

Readjustments became necessary. Lieutenant Ringgold was transferred to the *Vincennes*, and sent to San Francisco with instructions to survey the Sacramento River, while Lieutenant Wilkes surveyed the Columbia River. Lieutenant George F. Emmons[3] was detailed to

[1] James D. Dana, "Corals and Coral Islands" (New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1890, Third Edition), Preface.

[2] Here the distinguished scientist makes a wrong guess at the origin of Cape Disappointment's name.

[3] This is the father of Lieutenant George T. Emmons, United States



lead an overland exploring party from the Columbia south to the Sacramento River. Horatio Hale, the philologist, was left in the Oregon country to study the Indian languages there and across country to "the States." One of the surprises he encountered and utilized was the Chinook jargon, of which he made an accurate study.[1]

After completing the survey of the Columbia River, Lieutenant Wilkes gave the launch of the *Peacock* into the custody of the Hudson Bay Company to be used as a pilot and reserve boat at the mouth of the Columbia River until called for by some representative of the United States government. The brig *Thomas H. Perkins* was purchased, refitted, rechristened the *Oregon*, and added to the squadron in the place of the wrecked *Peacock*. The squadron sailed for California, and the work of the United States Exploring Expedition in the Pacific Northwest was finished. In leaving the Northwest the leader of the expedition gave expression to the following enthusiastic sentiment:[2]—

"Nothing can exceed the beauty of these waters, and their safety: not a shoal exists within the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Admiralty Inlet, Puget Sound, or Hood's Canal, that can in any way interrupt their navigation by a seventy-four-gun ship. I venture nothing in saying, there is no country in the world that possesses waters equal to these."

Navy, retired, now of Princeton, New Jersey, who has become an authority on the Tlingit and other tribes of Alaska Indians. He still has some of his father's manuscripts.

[1] Horatio Hale, "An International Idiom: a Manual of the Oregon Trade Language, or Chinook Jargon" (London, Whittaker and Company, 1890).

[2] Charles Wilkes, "Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition" (Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard, 1845), Vol. IV, p. 305.

PART III

PERIOD OF OCCUPATION

CHAPTER X

ASTORIA

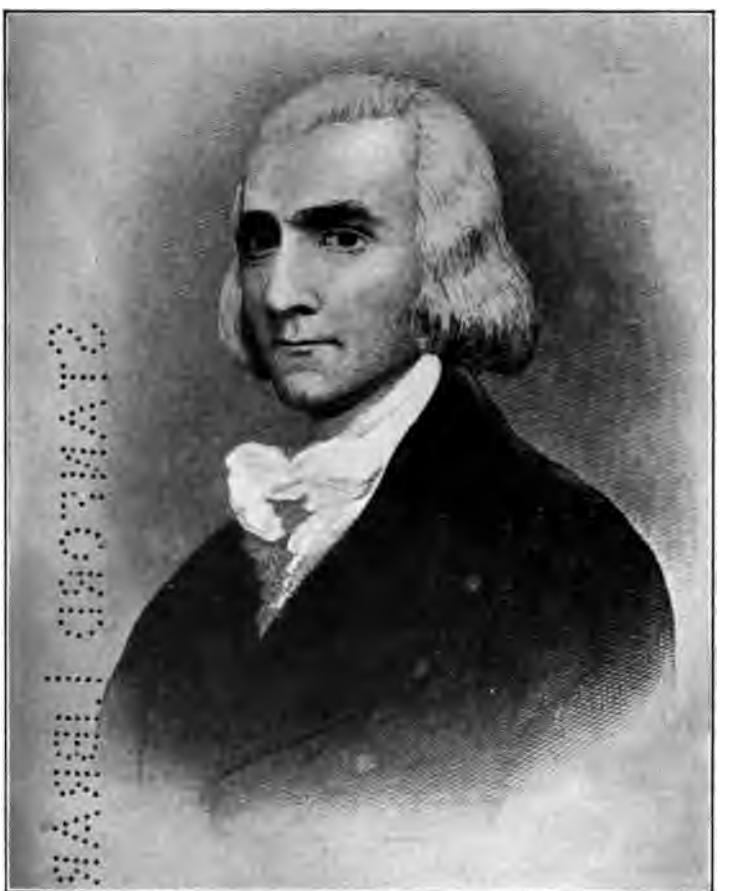
IT was always with a qualm of dissent and general mental discomfort that one, who, as a boy, had reveled in the thrilling pages of Washington Irving's "Astoria," should come often upon slurring comments calling in question that great author's fidelity to the truth of history. Then came a day of gratitude and rejoicing when the painstaking, accurate Captain Chittenden put to flight the critics of Washington Irving.[1] After an exhaustive study he makes a splendid defense of the work, including: "Not in the allurements of style alone, but in the essential respects of accuracy and comprehensive treatment, Irving's work stands immeasurably above all others on the subject."

The enterprise of Astoria, so well known through the immense popularity of Irving's book, had its origin in the reports of the Lewis and Clark exploration. In fairness it must be recorded, also, that as the Lewis and Clark journey to the Pacific in 1805 was preceded by that of Alexander Mackenzie for the Northwest Company a full dozen years, so this planting of the first American fort in 1811 was preceded by the work of Simon Fraser, who planted forts west of the Rocky Mountains from 1805 to 1807 for the same British company. It will be recalled that the Lewis and Clark camp at Fort Mandan in the winter

[1] Hiram Martin Chittenden, "The American Fur Trade of the Far West" (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 239–246.



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JOHN JACOB ASTOR



of 1804 was visited by British traders. This resulted in the sending of Simon Fraser and John Stuart west over the trail blazed by Mackenzie. They built forts on Lakes McLeod, Stuart, and Fraser, and when they came to that large river which, like Mackenzie in 1793, they thought to be the Columbia, a little below the fifty-fourth parallel of north latitude, Fraser planted a post called Fort George. In 1808, he traveled down the supposed Columbia River until he discovered the mistake, and then continued his journey to tide-water, making the first complete discovery and exploration of the great river that has since borne his name. In 1807, David Thompson, the talented geographer of the Northwest Company, explored west of the Rocky Mountains and below the fifty-fourth parallel, and, before the arrival of the Astorians, planted posts for his company in that region. For him Thompson River, a branch of the Fraser, was named.

Indeed Astoria was not even the first American settlement in the Northwest. The vessels from Boston taking part in the rich fur trade in 1803 included the *O'Cain*, in which one of the owners, Jonathan Winship, first visited the coast. In 1805, he returned as captain of the ship, with his brother Nathan as mate. They were successful, and in 1809, the three Winship brothers, Abiel, Jonathan, and Nathan, with a few others, organized on a larger scale. Their plans included the planting of an establishment on the Columbia River, an enterprise being contemplated at the same time by the Russians. This part of the Winship programme was assigned to Captain Nathan Winship who selected a site on the south side of the river about forty miles from its mouth, where he began to clear land and hew logs for the fort. This work continued from May 26 to July 19, 1810, when the hostility of the Indians caused the Boston builders to leave.

Successful fur trade had made John Jacob Astor wealthy, powerful, and famous. When he learned about the Lewis and Clark explorations, he decided to extend his operations beyond the region of the Great Lakes and to reach out to the Pacific. He urged the government to aid by furnish-

ing military protection, but the government was not inclined to act while annoyed by the upheaval in Europe which finally involved the United States in the War of 1812. Astor, to avoid competition, proposed a union of interests with the Northwest Company. This was declined, but when he began preparations on his own account, the Northwest Company renewed its activity in the same direction, resulting in a race for the Columbia River.

On June 23, 1810, the articles of agreement of the Pacific Fur Company were signed. Mr. Astor was president, and held a majority of the stock in his own name, the balance he distributed among his partners. Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey, was to be the first resident agent, and was to lead the overland part of the expedition. The rest of the partners were mostly Canadians, former Northwest Company men, — Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie, Ramsay Crooks, Robert McLellan, Joseph Miller, David Stuart, Robert Stuart, and John Clarke. Besides there were clerks, hunters, and helpers, amounting in all to about one hundred and forty men.

Mr. Astor's comprehensive plan included the establishment of headquarters at the mouth of the Columbia River, the planting of interior posts to control the trade, the sending of an annual ship with supplies, which should then trade along the coast, proceed to China, sell the furs, take on other merchandise, and return to New York. His great reputation brought him the valuable permission to carry supplies to the Russian-American posts and secure their furs for the markets in China.

While Mr. Hunt was to lead a party overland by the Lewis and Clark trail, the supplies and most of the men were to be sent by sea. For this purpose the stanch ship *Tonquin*, of two hundred and ninety tons, was secured. As captain of the ship, Mr. Astor obtained the services of Jonathan Thorn, an officer of the United States navy, then on leave. There is no question of Thorn's ability or bravery. He was with Decatur when the frigate *Philadelphia* was "cut out" of Tripoli harbor in 1804. But Thorn was reared and educated on a man-of-war.



His ideas of discipline and obedience brought him trouble with his passengers, and later precipitated one of the most appalling of marine disasters. The *Tonquin* sailed away from New York harbor on September 8, 1810. The government coöperated enough to furnish the famous war-ship *Constitution* as convoy for the first and most dangerous part of the voyage on account of the seizures at that time by British and French war-ships. Captain Thorn had continuous quarrels with the partners on board, and when he arrived off the mouth of the Columbia, March 22, 1811, he was anxious to sail in at once, in spite of the storm and the breakers at the bar. He sent boats to find the channel, and in that way lost eight men. After entering the river, quarreling continued, but the partners selected a site on the southern shore, and Captain Thorn hastened to unload the goods. On April 12, the fort was begun, and was called Astoria. Thorn took the partner McKay, and sailed away early in June to begin the trade on the coast. Off Grays Harbor they took on board a Chehalis Indian named Lamazee, or Lamanse, to act as interpreter. At a harbor on the west coast of Vancouver Island, called by Irving "Newetee," probably on the lea of a little island at the entrance of Clayoquot Sound, a trade was begun with the Indians. Astor had given most explicit orders against allowing more than a few Indians on deck at a time. Thorn disobeyed these orders, treated a chief with harshness, and the next day a swarm of Indians on deck massacred the crew, except five men who managed to drop from the rigging through the open hatches. They secured guns, and drove the Indians from the ship. At night four of these men fled in a boat, but were subsequently found and tortured to death. The fifth man remained on the ship, and when her decks were again crowded with Indians, the magazine was exploded, and the Indian village was thrown into a frenzy of rage as the waves washed their mangled dead ashore. The only survivor was the Chehalis Indian interpreter.

A few days after the *Tonquin* left Astoria two strange Indians arrived with a letter addressed to "Mr. John Stuart,

Fort Estekatdene, New Caledonia." After much effort it was learned from these strangers that white men had built a fort on the Spokane River. Efforts were at once made to forestall this move on the part of the Northwest Company. David Stuart was detailed for the duty, and on July 15 the canoes were being loaded when there arrived from up-river a canoe flying the British flag. The leader of this expedition was David Thompson, the geographer. He had started the season before for the mouth of the Columbia River, but the desertion of some of his men had delayed him over winter on the west side of the Rocky Mountains. He said the wintering partners had agreed to withdraw opposition on the west if the Astor men would do the same on the east. He showed a letter to that effect, but Franchere declares[1] that those at Astoria believed that Thompson had come to plant the British flag at the mouth of the Columbia and was simply beaten in the race. Thompson started back into the interior on July 23, and was accompanied by the two Indian strangers and by the party of eight under David Stuart, who was to carry out the original plan of establishing an interior post. The spot selected was near the mouth of the Okanogan River, and this first interior post of the Astorians was called Fort Okanogan. Stuart traveled into the interior, leaving the new fort in charge of one of the clerks, Alexander Ross. The latter published a book which is one of the sources of early history in the Northwest.[2] The trade at this new fort was successful.

Hunt left St. Louis on March 12, 1811, and took 340 days to reach Astoria, arriving there on February 15, 1812. They had encountered delays and obstacles of every form. Probably the worst trials came in the Snake River country, where the party was divided into small groups and sent in different directions, hoping to find food in the slender stores of the scattered bands of Indians. Their own goods they

[1] Gabriel Franchere, "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America" (New York, Redfield, 1854), pp. 122–123.

[2] Alexander Ross, "The Fur Hunters of the Far West" (London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1855), two volumes.



cached at Caldron Linn. One of the parties lost a man, and the survivors gave conflicting stories of his disappearance, which has caused some writers to hint at possible cannibalism.

On May 10, 1812, the ship *Beaver* arrived at Astoria with supplies. Besides the large cargo she brought John Clarke, a partner, Ross Cox,[1] and five other clerks, and a number of employees. "The arrival of this ship was an important event to the new establishment, for it placed everything on a substantial basis, and gave the enterprise every prospect of a successful issue."[2] They would now push into the interior with renewed energy. David Stuart would go back to his Fort Okanogan. John Clarke was sent to establish a post on the Spokane River in opposition to the Spokane House of the British company. Donald McKenzie was sent up the Snake River. But the partners made one serious blunder. They voted that Mr. Hunt should conduct the coast trade. The crisis that was approaching needed Mr. Hunt at Astoria more than anywhere else. He sailed away in the *Beaver* in August, and was gone just a year. He obtained a valuable cargo of furs at the Russian posts, and went to China. Hearing at Hawaii that war had been declared between Great Britain and the United States, he hurried back to Astoria, where he found the partners stampeded toward the idea of selling out the entire enterprise to the Northwest Company. They had heard of the war and also of the probable approach of the British sloop-of-war *Raccoon* to capture Astoria. Mr. Hunt opposed but could not defeat the plan, so he at once sailed to Hawaii for a ship in which to save as much as possible of Mr. Astor's property. The interior posts had been successful, but on October 16, the partners at Astoria sold all the posts to the Northwest Company, with which some of the partners and clerks accepted employment. On November 30, the *Raccoon* appeared at Astoria, but found it al-

[1] This clerk kept notes of his observations and published a valuable work. Ross Cox, "Adventures on the Columbia River" (London, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), two volumes.

[2] Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," Vol. I, p. 204.

ready in the hands of the British. In December, the American flag was exchanged for the British, and Astoria was then called Fort George. Mr. Hunt returned in February, 1814, but was too late and sailed away. The British ship *Isaac Todd* brought supplies to Fort George in the spring of 1814, and they continued to operate there for many years. In 1818, Donald McKenzie established Fort Walla Walla as an additional link for the control of the interior. A little later we shall see how these posts were increased and strengthened when the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company were united in 1821. It looked as though the United States would have great difficulty in recovering even the shadow of a title to the Northwest under these conditions. But at the conclusion of the War of 1812, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin, J. A. Bayard, and Jonathan Russell negotiated the treaty of peace signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. Article I of this treaty provided: "All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war," shall be restored without delay.[1] Astoria was restored, but there were no Americans there to keep the possession, and the British continued their fur trade at "Fort George."

[1] "Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and Other Powers, since July 4, 1776" (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1889), p. 400.



CHAPTER XI

JOINT OCCUPANCY

ALBERT GALLATIN, that learned and patriotic American statesman, transplanted from Switzerland, who had helped to negotiate the treaty of Ghent in 1814, was associated with Richard Rush in completing another treaty with Great Britain, signed at London, October 20, 1818. This treaty was made for the purpose of fixing certain boundaries, settling fishery disputes, and arranging for the restoration of certain slaves. The northern boundary was fixed along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains. Article III provides that the country on the northwest coast of America westward of the Stony Mountains should be free and open for a period of ten years to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of both powers. In Northwestern history this is called the treaty of Joint Occupancy. Slight as was the American hold after the War of 1812, this new treaty recognized that the title was worth something, and it was left for the future to disclose how much.

Representative John Floyd took umbrage at this treaty, and he continued to let his fellow-congressmen hear from him on the subject of Oregon for a number of years or until his death. He had a natural interest in the subject. His cousin, Charles Floyd, had been a sergeant in the Lewis and Clark expedition, and was the only man who lost his life on that historic journey. Then he read of the Astoria experiences. He believed that the United States had earned a good title to that region, and he objected to England's having any joint occupancy privileges. It may be demonstrated that it was he who transferred the name Oregon from the great "River of the West" to the

country of the Northwest.[1] Floyd was aided by Representative Bailies of Massachusetts. Later Senators Thomas H. Benton and Lewis Fields Linn, of Missouri, joined in the congressional fight on behalf of Oregon. This agitation took the form of speeches, reports, and the introduction of bills for enactment. The first of these was the motion by Representative Floyd that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the conditions on the Pacific Ocean and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River. The usual courtesy made the author of the motion chairman of the committee. This was on December 19, 1820, and on January 25, 1821, the report of the committee was given to the House, and may be found in the Annals of Congress for that date.[2] Besides setting forth the basis of American claims on the Pacific coast, it was shown that the control of the Columbia would be important in the growth of trade with the Orient. The report closed with the submission of a bill for occupying, fortifying, and utilizing the Columbia River. This pioneer bill was not enacted but, from that time on, the people of the country and especially the members of Congress were not allowed to forget the American claims in the Pacific Northwest. The agitation had important bearings on the subsequent developments.

The agitation outside of Congress was kept up by Hall J. Kelley, the Boston schoolmaster and author of schoolbooks. By many it is claimed that he was the real pioneer agitator. He claimed to have begun his work for Oregon in 1815. He was certainly tireless and resourceful. We have already seen that his agitation and the organization of his colonization society inspired the Wyeth expeditions. He appeared before committees of Congress session after session, and published books and pamphlets on the subject. In 1833, he started for Oregon by way of Mexico and

[1] Edward Gaylord Bourne, "Aspects of Oregon History before 1840" (address at the Historical Congress, Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, Portland, Oregon, August 21, 1905), published in the quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. VI, pp. 255–275.

[2] Reprinted in the quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. VIII, pp. 51–75.



California. He was deserted by his companions, robbed, and plundered. He conceived the idea that the Hudson Bay Company was secretly annoying him on account of his Oregon agitations. Traveling overland from California he was joined by horse thieves, and was himself looked upon as a thief at Vancouver. He was kindly but firmly treated, and partook of the charity of Doctor McLoughlin. He had seen his loved Oregon, but under a sickening gloom. He returned to the East, and continued to nurse his hatred of the Hudson Bay Company. He lived until 1873, and the last years of his life he was a morose hermit, practically a monomaniac on the one great theme of his life.

Three prominent statesmen of penetrating foresight continued to hold a peculiar grasp of the Oregon case. These were John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. In 1814, they negotiated the treaty of Ghent, closing the War of 1812, and retaining a tentative title to a part of the Northwest. In 1818, Adams was Secretary of State, Clay was Speaker of the House, and Gallatin was Minister to France, and was ordered to London to aid Richard Rush in formulating a treaty of boundaries. In this treaty the United States offered to continue the forty-ninth parallel as a boundary from the Stony (Rocky) Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, but Great Britain refused, and the joint occupancy idea was accepted as a compromise. When John Quincy Adams became President, he made Henry Clay his Secretary of State and Albert Gallatin Minister to Great Britain. In the previous administration Florida had been purchased, the Monroe Doctrine had been announced, and the treaty with Russia (1824) had pushed American claims on the Pacific to 54° 40′. The Oregon agitation was being continued. As the ten-year limit of the Joint Occupancy Treaty was drawing to a close, Minister Gallatin was instructed to again offer the forty-ninth parallel as a compromise boundary. Each side drew up statements of the case. The British fur traders were maintaining successful posts, and the Americans had not one settlement in that region.

The British insisted on the Columbia River as the boundary. Under such conditions it was a distinct victory when Gallatin concluded, on August 6, 1827, a treaty which extended the joint occupancy feature indefinitely, and provided that either party could annul the treaty by giving twelve months' notice. In his annual message to Congress, on December 4, 1827, President Adams explained the new treaty and declared: "Our conventions with Great Britain are founded upon the principles of reciprocity." [1]

The American struggle for Oregon from the failure of the Astor enterprise in 1813 was a matter of debate and diplomacy, and would continue as such until the arrival in Oregon of the American missionaries, the traders, and especially the American pioneer farmers and home-builders. And yet during those years of debate and diplomacy there was developing a national feeling that the United States was destined to have a share in the life and commerce of the far West. Before the arrival in Oregon of the first missionary, Presidents Monroe, Adams, and Jackson had each called the attention of Congress to the need of a naval squadron in the Pacific to protect American interests.

[1] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. II, p. 380.



CHAPTER XII

PART OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

"Be it accordingly,
"ALEXANDER.

"KAMENNOY OSTROFF,
"4th September, 1821."

THE above indorsement in the handwriting of the Czar gave legal force and effect to the remarkable Ukase of 1821. The decree was accompanied by a long set of sixty-three rules, many of which had subdivisions, making the document a ponderous one.[1] It was prepared by the Directing Senate of Russia, and proposed to regulate all commerce, whaling, fishery, and all other industries on the Pacific coast of America which was claimed as Russian territory from Bering Strait along the islands and mainland to 51° north latitude. This would bring the Russian claim down to Queen Charlotte Sound, the waterway dividing the north end of Vancouver Island from the mainland. No foreign vessel was to be allowed to approach within one hundred Italian miles of those shores except in case of real distress or when armed with a passport from the Russian government. Copies of the order and the accompanying rules were sent to all the other governments that they might know of Russia's determination.

The world at this moment was in a disturbed condition. The Spanish-American provinces were finishing their revolutions and creating for themselves independent republican governments. The so-called "Holy Alliance" was trying to restore matters as they were in Europe before the Napoleonic upheaval. At such a crisis not many

[1] See Proceedings of the Fur Seal Arbitration (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1895), Vol. II, pp. 16–24.

nations had time or inclination to pay much attention to the Czar's Ukase. Spain in former years would have made a vigorous protest, but in 1821, the outlook was full of other kinds of trouble, and in fact Spain had just parted with the last shred of title to the lands affected. In ceding Florida to the United States in 1819, Spain had included a quit-claim deed to any title she might possess on the northwest coast. However, there were two nations that would not submit to the Czar's decree and rules. Great Britain and the United States objected.

It has already been shown that John Quincy Adams, who was Secretary of State under Monroe, could be depended upon to guard American interests in the Pacific. In his diary, highly prized by historians, under the date of July 17, 1823, is found this significant entry: —

"At the office, Baron Tuyl came, and enquired if he might inform his government that instructions would be forwarded by Mr. Hughes to Mr. Middleton for negotiating on the Northwest Coast question. I said he might. He then manifested a desire to know as much as I was disposed to tell him as to the purport of those instructions. I told him as much as I thought prudent, as he observed that it was personally somewhat important to him to be so far confided in here as to know the general purport of what we intended to propose. I told him specially that we should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for *any* new European colonial establishments. We had a conversation of an hour or more, at the close of which he said that although there would be difficulties in the negotiation, he did not foresee that they would be insurmountable." [1]

When that interview took place, there was not an American settlement on the northwest coast. It was still the battle of diplomacy. Nearly five months after Secretary

[1] Charles Francis Adams, editor, "Memoirs of John Quincy Adams" (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1874), Vol. VI, p. 163.



Adams and the Russian Minister had their interview, President Monroe gave to Congress his seventh annual message on December 2, 1823, in which he used language very similar to that in the telltale diary. The President said: "In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." [1] Later, in speaking of the Spanish-American troubles, he declared, in the same message, that America would not interfere with European affairs and Europe must not interfere in American affairs. Thus, in the course of his ordinary business with Congress, the President announced principles which later became famous as the Monroe Doctrine.[2]

In that same message President Monroe said that the imperial government of Russia had invited both the United States and Great Britain to open negotiations at St. Petersburg with a view of coming to an understanding about the northwest coast of America. Both governments consented. Henry Middleton, United States Minister at St. Petersburg, followed his instructions, and on April 17, 1824, concluded a treaty, by which each power agreed that the parallel of 54° 40′ would be the limit of their respective claims. In 1825, Russia concluded a similar treaty with Great Britain. From that date, the Oregon country embraced the lands from 42° to 54° 40′ and from the Rocky

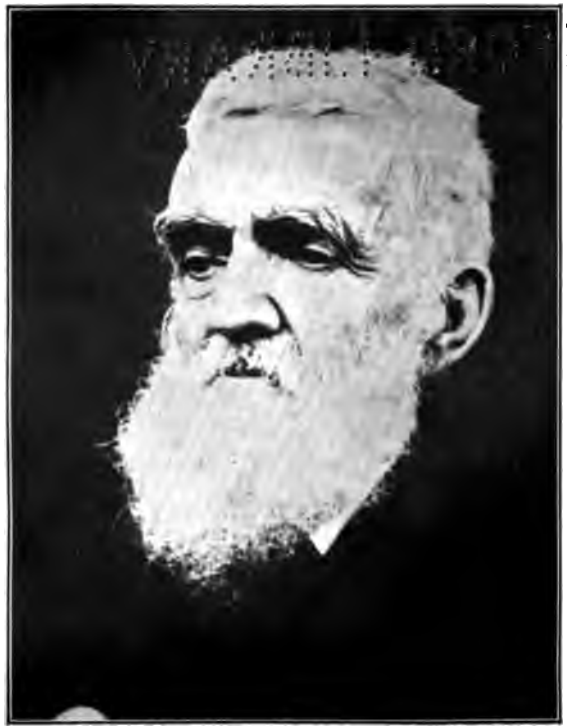
[1] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. II, p. 209.

[2] In *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for September, 1905, President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, says: "James Monroe held the trumpet, but John Quincy Adams blew the blast." This is cited by Professor James Schouler who resents it strenuously. See his paper, "The Authorship of the Monroe Doctrine," in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905, Vol. I, pp. 125–131.

Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. With Spanish and Russian claims adjusted, that vast area was to be occupied jointly by Great Britain and the United States under treaties of amity. The future would disclose which nation would have ultimate possession.



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Dr. J. P. Richmond



Dr. John McLoughlin



CHAPTER XIII

HUDSON BAY COMPANY

THE old Hudson Bay Company, chartered by Charles II of England in 1670, one of the greatest monopolies in the annals of the world, had no posts west of the Rocky Mountains prior to 1821. All those early establishments had been planted by the old company's vigorous and successful rival—the Northwest Company. In 1821, the two companies were merged under the older company's name.

In 1824, the company sent to the Columbia River as chief factor, Doctor John McLoughlin, who became a veritable king, and is now affectionately referred to as the "Father of Oregon." He was born in Canada, about one hundred and twenty miles from Quebec, on October 19, 1784, and died in Oregon City on September 3, 1857. He was educated in Canada and Scotland for the profession of medicine. He became a fur trader and joined the Northwest Company who stationed him at Fort William. There he met and married the Indian widow of Alexander McKay, who had crossed the continent with Mackenzie, and was one of the Astor partners, losing his life in the *Tonquin* disaster of 1811. The McLoughlins had four children, descendants of whom are still living in Oregon and California. The doctor was six feet four inches tall, and had a majestic bearing. He was known among the Indians as "White-headed Eagle." His life has been thoroughly and affectionately studied, and recently published by a native-born Oregonian.[1] Upon his arrival in Oregon McLoughlin set vigorously to work. New posts were established, and old ones strengthened. Spokane

[1] Frederick V. Holman, "Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon" (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1907).

House was abandoned, and Fort Colville established in its stead. The site chosen for Fort Colville was on a beautiful plain overlooking the Columbia River, near Kettle Falls. Founded in 1825, it was named for the man who was then governor of the Hudson Bay Company. It became the chief depot for the up-country trade during all the period of joint occupancy, and even after the Americans obtained title, Colville was an outfitting point for the miners working in the surrounding region. A few of the old buildings still stand, and in one of them is a small brass cannon said to have been used in the battle between Montcalm and Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. Twelve miles away has grown up a city which has taken the name of Colville. It is the seat of government for Stevens County. Forts Walla Walla, Okanogan, Boise, and Hall were all continued until the final settlement some years after the possession of the land was acknowledged to be in the United States.

But more important than any of these forts was the new one established by Chief Factor McLoughlin as his headquarters. On going down the Columbia River in 1824 to take up his work at Fort George, he observed an attractive little plain approaching the bank of the river near Point Vancouver, the highest place reached by Lieutenant Broughton in 1792. That was chosen as the site, and early in 1825, McLoughlin began the construction of Fort Vancouver. At that time the Horticultural Society of London had sent out to the Columbia River a representative whom the Indians soon called the "Grass Man." This was David Douglas, the famous Scotch botanist. Doctor McLoughlin took him to Vancouver in a boat on April 8, 1825, and he at once began his excursions for seeds and plants. Returning from one of these, he made this interesting entry in his journal: "I arrived at Fort Vancouver on August 5th, and employed myself until the 18th in drying the specimens I had collected, and making short journeys in quest of seeds and plants; my labors being materially retarded by the rainy weather. As there were no houses yet built on this new station, I at first occupied a tent, which was kindly offered me, and then removed to



a larger deer-skin tent, which soon, however, became too small for me, in consequence of the augmentation of my collections. A hut, constructed of the bark of 'Thuja Occidentalis' [cedar], was my next habitation, and there I shall probably take up my winter-quarters." [1]

That is a picture from the beginning of the oldest city in the State of Washington. Fort Walla Walla was begun in 1818, and later Wallula grew up at the same place which might cause a dispute on this point. But the life of Vancouver has been continuous from 1825 to the present time, and is fairly entitled to the honor of being known as the commonwealth's oldest settlement.

James Keith, the predecessor of McLoughlin on the Columbia River, when asked by the directors of the Northwest Company if he could not raise food for his men, replied that the country was not agricultural, and food would have to be transported over the mountains or by ship around Cape Horn. This ridiculous idea was promptly abandoned under the new régime. Fields were cultivated, a gristmill and a sawmill were built, and at the end of the first decade thousands of bushels of grain were produced. There were hundreds of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs. Not only could Doctor McLoughlin entertain his guests at a bountifully supplied table in the "Hall" at Vancouver, but food was supplied for hunting and trading parties, and an occasional shipment of flour and grain was made to distant islands or to the Russian-American settlements.

Among the new posts established was one on the Fraser River, near its mouth, called Fort Langley. Of course this fort could be reached by sea from the Columbia River by way of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, but a vessel was not always to be had, and then the trip would be made in canoes. The route led up the Cowlitz River to about where Toledo now stands, and from that point the journey was made by land to tide-water on Puget Sound. There Indian canoes were secured for the long trip to the Fraser River. On one of these trips the Indians treacherously murdered one

[1] T. Somerville, "David Douglas" (*Overland Monthly*, August, 1871), Vol. VII, p. 108.

of the traders. This necessitated a reprisal, for such deeds must be punished to prevent further trouble. It became evident that a post was needed on Puget Sound. In the spring of 1832, Archibald McDonald, while on a trading trip, picked on Nisqually Bay as the site of a probable fort. He built a little storehouse, fifteen by twenty feet in size, and left William Ouvrie and two other hands there with a few blankets, a couple of kegs of potatoes, and some garden seeds. The next spring, McDonald returned, and in a book called "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House" he began the record in the usual Hudson Bay Company's spirit of carefulness. The first entry includes the following: —

"May 30th, 1833, Thursday. Arrived here this afternoon from the Columbia with four men, four oxen and four horses, after a journey of fourteen days, expecting to have found the schooner Vancouver lying here. She sailed the afternoon of the same day we started, with trading goods, provisions, potatoes, seeds, etc., bound for Nisqually Bay, where we have now determined, should everything come up to expectation, to locate an establishment." [1] Four men arrived from Fort Langley, making the first crew at Nisqually House, eleven men besides the chief trader. McDonald also mentions that he had with him as fellow-traveler a young gentleman lately arrived from England, who was to serve in the more northern posts as a surgeon. This was Doctor William Fraser Tolmie, who became one of the most highly esteemed pioneers of the whole Northwestern section.

These new posts and the news of American missionaries reaching the ears of the government at Washington created a desire for accurate information. On November 11, 1835, Secretary of State John Forsyth instructed William A. Slacum to visit the settlements on the Columbia and without exciting British suspicions to bring back a report.

[1] Copied by the writer in 1899 from the original at old Fort Nisqually. Later published from the original by Clarence B. Bagley in a pamphlet called "In the Beginning" (Seattle, Lowman and Hanford Stationery and Printing Company, 1905), p. 8.



He performed the duty assigned him, and while in Oregon rendered the Americans a real service by encouraging them in organizing the Willamette Cattle Company, carrying free some of the settlers, who went in his brig to California to purchase cattle.

Doctor McLoughlin and the others at Fort Vancouver saw no reason why the Americans should get the start of them in the cattle business. They had much the better opportunity of conducting such a business, and especially of reaching the outside markets. England had steadily refused to compromise on the forty-ninth parallel, and there was every indication that the desired Columbia River boundary would be secured. All this coincided with the discovery of attractive prairies near Cowlitz Landing and near Nisqually House. The Hudson Bay Company would center its cattle and agricultural interests north of the expected boundary line.

Simon Plomondon, after sixteen years of service for the company, desired to settle down on a farm. Doctor McLoughlin sent him north to Cowlitz Prairie. Two years later, in 1839, the company measured off four thousand acres for their Cowlitz Farm. The farms and the live-stock interests were all transferred from the Hudson Bay Company to a new concern called the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. There were some directors who wanted the Hudson Bay Company to confine its energies to the fur trade. If others wished to raise potatoes, let them go by themselves and do so. Doctor Tolmie and two others joined in a fine prospectus showing what could be done with such a company. It should have a capital stock of £200,000, and should be composed of men in the Hudson Bay Company. The first directors named were John Henry Pelly, Andrew Colville, and George Simpson. In short, this new company was to be a sort of wheel within a wheel. Doctor McLoughlin was in London in 1838–1839, and pressed this new enterprise for adoption. When the organization was completed, he became its first manager.

Naturally the new company had a special interest for Doctor Tolmie. He made a trip home in 1841, and while

there studied Spanish with the expectation of taking charge of the Hudson Bay Company establishment at Yerba Buena (San Francisco), but instead of that he became superintendent of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, with headquarters at Nisqually House. This was in 1843, and as early as 1841 the cattle around Nisqually had increased to such an extent that supplies of butter and cheese as well as beef were being shipped to Sitka and other markets. Lieutenant Wilkes gave a favorable report on these operations. Up to this time there was no American settler north of the Columbia River except the Methodist Episcopal missionary, Doctor J. P. Richmond, recently arrived at Nisqually. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Hudson Bay Company traders, writing to each other at distant points, frequently expressed the confident opinion that the British would surely hold the region.[1] Nevertheless, the Americans were still claiming all of Oregon to 54° 40′, and it might be well for the British to have some actual settlers and not be compelled to rely wholly upon company posts when the problem of joint occupancy should come up for final solution. Why not use the Puget Sound Agricultural Company as the agency to produce this desired condition?

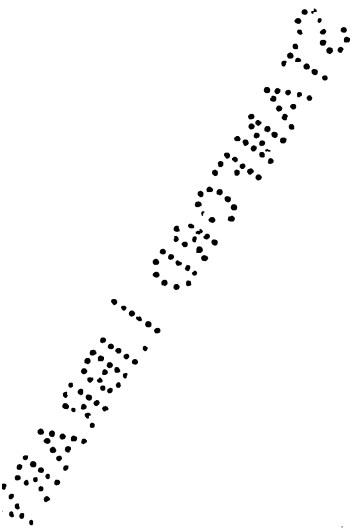
When sixteen days out from Fort Garry, Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson Bay Company's territories in North America, then on his famous tour of the world, overtook a party of travelers consisting of twenty-three families headed for the far West. They had left Manitoba, Red River Territory, on June 15, 1841, under the lead of James Sinclair, a clerk of the Hudson Bay Company. These toilers were quickly distanced by the more speedy caravan of the governor, who arrived in Vancouver in time to meet Lieutenant Wilkes. Then he took the usual route for Nisqually, where the steamer *Beaver* was to carry him to Sitka. His journal describes

[1] See the letters collected by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in preparation of her book "McDonald of Oregon" and reproduced in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (Seattle, Washington University State Historical Society, 1907–1908), Vol. I, No. 3; Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3.



FORT VANCOUVER IN 1845
From a Drawing by a British Army Officer







the farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Cowlitz Prairie and Nisqually, adding: "There were also a few Canadian settlers, retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; and it was to this same neighborhood that the emigrants from Red River were wending their way."[1] This is the way the British would settle that joint occupancy case so far as concerned that portion of Oregon lying north of the Columbia River.

The emigrants were deserted by their half-breed guide, and chose in his stead Bras Croche, a Cree Indian, who guided them safely through the mountains and accompanied them to Nisqually. Each head of a family was to receive from the company the use and increase of fifteen cows, fifteen ewes, the necessary work oxen and horses, and houses and barns as needed. On October 4, they arrived at Fort Walla Walla, and helped to save the property in that establishment when it burned the next day. One party returned to Fort Edmonton, another turned off to California, several families stopped at Cowlitz Farm, and on November 8, 1841, thirteen families arrived at Fort Nisqually. "Complaints were made by the colonists that the company failed to comply with their contract. But one or two remained at Nisqually Plains; two or three families only stopped at the Cowlitz. This was the only attempt made by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to make settlements in the territory north and west of the Columbia River. The scheme to establish agricultural colonies upon Puget Sound from Red River proved a failure."[2]

Two thoughts caused the officers of the Hudson Bay Company to urge the British government to a strong insistance on the Columbia River as the ultimate southern boundary of British territory in Oregon. One of these was the desire to secure headquarters on a harbor free from the dangers of the Columbia River bar; and the other

[1] Sir George Simpson, "Narrative of a Journey round the World, during the Years 1841 and 1842" (London, Henry Colburn, 1847), Vol. I, p. 178.

[2] Elwood Evans, "History of the Pacific Northwest" (Portland, Oregon, North Pacific History Company, 1889), Vol. I, p. 230.

the idea that the lands between the Columbia River and Puget Sound formed the choicest area of Oregon. Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, has discovered in the Public Record Office at London a lot of important documents bearing on this and other points of the history of this period. He has published parts of the letters of Sir George Simpson for 1841–1843.[1]

Here Simpson was reporting to the headquarters of his great company, and was planning for the best interests of that company. He said: "A three weeks' detention inside Cape Disappointment, watching a favorable opportunity for crossing the very dangerous bar off the entrance of the Columbia River, recalled my attention very forcibly to the importance of a depot being formed for such portion of the Company's business as is more immediately connected with the foreign trade and shipping department on some eligible part of the coast, instead of continuing Fort Vancouver as the great center of the business of the west side of the continent, and exposing many lives and the whole of the valuable imports and exports of the country to a danger which is becoming more alarming every successive year." He supposed that such a place could be found on the southern end of Vancouver Island, which subsequent events actually brought about in the building of Victoria. In another letter, dated at Honolulu, March 10, 1842, Simpson says he had found Commodore Wilkes reticent about his intentions, but a confidential member of that expedition told him the commodore would recommend the contending for the whole of Oregon to 52° 40′. The confidential officer under Wilkes said he would recommend a compromise boundary running through the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the mainland south of Whidbey Island and thence east to the Columbia River so as to give each nation some safe harbors. Then continuing for himself, Sir George said: "But I trust you will urge H.M. government not to consent to any boundary which would give to the United States any portion of the Territory north

[1] *The American Historical Review* (October, 1908), Vol. XIV, pp. 70–94.



of the Columbia River; as any boundary north of that stream would deprive Great Britain of the only valuable part of the territory, the country to the northward of the Straits of de Fuca not being adapted for agriculture, or other purposes connected with colonization."

Doctor McLoughlin continued as virtual ruler of the Northwest. Though necessarily firm, he was also kind, humane, charitable. As the missionaries and settlers began to arrive, he was always ready to extend help to the hungry and needy. Many arrived completely destitute. These he helped to a start in the new land. Some repaid his advances, others only reviled and abused their benefactor. He was loyal to his company, seeking to protect its fur trade and to divert American settlers south of the Columbia. Still the company manifested displeasure because he had assisted the Americans. He resigned in 1846, and became an American citizen. The last eleven years of his life were clouded with law troubles over the title of his farm at Oregon City. Since his death, abundant proof of his integrity of character and his kindness of heart has come forth from the pioneers to enshrine him as one of the best-beloved characters in the annals of the West.

In 1846, James Douglas succeeded, as chief factor, his old friend and preceptor. That was the year when the treaty between Great Britain and the United States divided Old Oregon by accepting the oft-rejected forty-ninth parallel as the boundary. This, of course, meant the end of the Hudson Bay Company south of that boundary. But the end was not swift in its coming. For a number of years the posts were held and used. Articles III and IV of the treaty provided that the rights of the Hudson Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company should be respected, and the property should be paid for at a valuation to be agreed upon between the parties. Claims were made and examined. High valuations were cut down, and comprises attempted. On July 1, 1863, Secretary of State William H. Seward, and the British Minister Lord Lyons, concluded a treaty for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson Bay Com-

pany and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.[1] This provided for a commissioner to be appointed by each power, and these should ask the king of Italy to appoint an umpire if they could not agree. The United States selected Alexander S. Johnson, and Great Britain selected John Rose. Voluminous documents were prepared, evidence, claims, memorials, and arguments. Finally, on September 10, 1869, a decision was reached and the award made. The United States was to pay in gold coin, for the possessory rights and claims, $450,000 to the Hudson Bay Company and $200,000 to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. The commissioners also prepared a simple form of deed by which those companies were to transfer all their possessory rights and claims to the United States of America.[2]

American settlers quickly pounced upon the farms, and in many instances they had not waited for the slow process of treaty negotiations. The farm at Nisqually, with the old buildings, was held by the last clerk of the company, Edward Huggins, who became an American citizen and maintained a fine old pioneer home in Nisqually House until his death in January, 1907.

In 1884, Hon. James Nesmith, president of the Oregon Pioneer Association, invited Doctor William Fraser Tolmie to contribute a paper to their proceedings. In response the doctor sent from Victoria a letter[3] in which he showed how difficult it had been to keep the British government warmed up on the Hudson Bay Company's holdings of Canadian lands, especially after the Canadian rebellion in 1837–1838. He says: "By the endeavor to develop, north of the Columbia, in what they supposed to be the really 'debatable land,' permanent settlement of British agriculturists, the company openly and honorably acted, in strict

[1] "Treaties and Conventions," pp. 467–469.

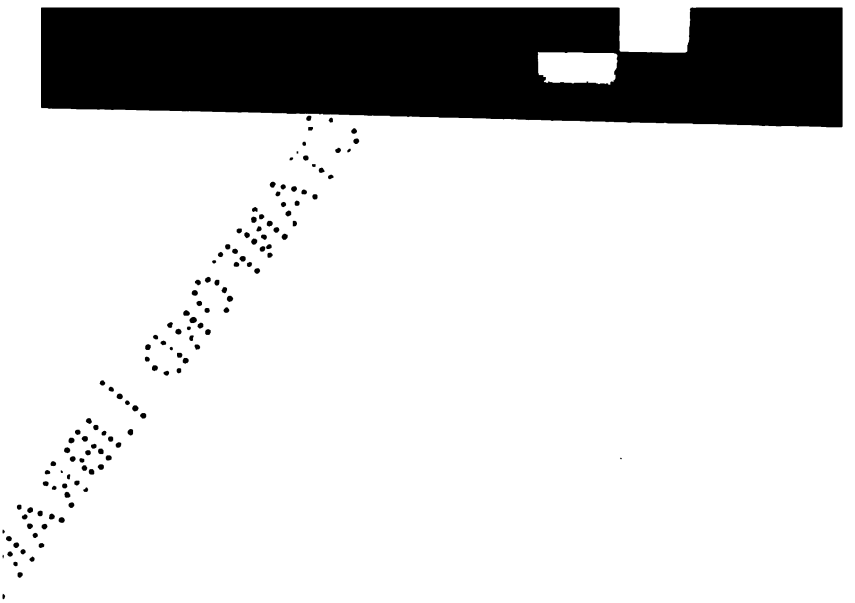
[2] "Opinions and Award of the Commissioners, under the treaty of July 1, 1863, between Great Britain and the United States" (Montreal, John Lovell, 1869), pp. 30–31.

[3] Published in the Transactions of the Twelfth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1884 (Salem, E. M. Waite, 1885), pp. 25–37.



STEAMER *Beaver*

First Steamboat on the Pacific Ocean





accordance with their treaty rights. Had they promptly adopted my suggestion, in 1844, their flocks of sheep might have overspread the unoccupied prairies between Nisqually and Cowlitz ere the 15th June, 1846, in which case their rights would have been confirmed to these lands by the treaty." Later in the same letter: "I have never yet heard a Briton deny that the United States' men have better developed Washington Territory since the treaty of 1846 than, all things considered, our people, British and Canadian, could possibly have done in the same period."

The most recent British discussion of the case [1] includes the following statement: "It must have been evident to the British Government that, with a Provisional Government strongly pro-United States, it was only a question of time when action that would precipitate a conflict would be taken; that government of the country by Great Britain would soon be impossible owing to the overwhelming predominancy of Americans; that there was the additional probability that they would invade what is now the Province of British Columbia, and we now know that if the joint occupancy had continued till the Fraser River gold 'rush' of 1857–1858, the whole territory might have been lost to the British Crown."

[1] James White, "British Diplomacy and Canada" (*The University Magazine*, The Macmillan Company of Canada), Vol. VII (October, 1908), pp. 398–414.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MISSIONARY EPOCH

THE Indians of the Northwest became known through the reports of explorers. Promptly the fur traders began to exploit them by land and sea. Among the explorers and fur traders were men who informed the Indians that the white men had a religion superior to their forms of worship. The Indians, tasting the advantages of the white man's material possessions, thirsted also for a knowledge of his spiritual advantages. Another source of this desire was the migration of twenty-four Iroquois Indians from Canada to the lands west of the Rocky Mountains. They had received instruction from Catholic missionaries and desired their new associates to become acquainted with the Blackgowns. Delegations were sent to St. Louis for such help as early as 1830.[1] Some Indians were sent away to school to learn about it, as related by Bloody Chief to Doctor Elijah White in the spring of 1843.[2] Late in 1831 four Flathead or Nez Percé Indians (both tribes now claim the honor) arrived in St. Louis, where William Clark was superintendent of Indian affairs. They had gone on that long and hazardous journey as a deputation from their people to learn from their old friend Clark, the explorer, the truth about the white man's religion. Two of

[1] [Francis Norbet Blanchet], "Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, during the Past Forty Years" (Portland, Oregon, 1878), pp. 18–20.

[2] Doctor E. White and Lady, "Ten Years in Oregon" Miss A. J. Allen, compiler (Ithaca, New York, Mach, Andrus and Company, 1848), p. 185: "Clarke pointed to this day, to you, and this occasion; we have long waited in expectation; sent three of our sons to Red River School to prepare for it; two of them sleep with their fathers; the other is here and can be ears, mouth, and pen for us."



the four died, and were buried in St. Louis. As the two survivors were returning home, they were met by George Catlin, who painted their portraits, and made this entry in his journal: "These two men were part of a delegation that came across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis a few years since to inquire for the truth of a representation which they said some white men had made amongst them, 'that our religion was better than theirs, and that they would all be lost if they did not embrace it.' Two old and venerable men of this party died in St. Louis, and I traveled two thousand miles, companion with these two young fellows, towards their own country, and became much pleased with their manners and dispositions." [1]

One of the first missionary band, discussing the visit of these Indians, says they knew General Clark as the first great chief of the white men who had visited their people. "Having great confidence in him, they made inquiries about the book of which they had been informed by the hunters, which the Great Spirit had given to the white men to teach them his will. The answers they received were in accordance with what had been told them. The writer saw General Clark in 1834, two years after their visit, and learned from him these particulars in relation to it." [2] This same missionary, Daniel Lee, says further: "A high-wrought account of the visit of these Indians to St. Louis, by some writer in the vicinity, was published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York City, in March, 1833. This is the most important periodical in the Methodist Episcopal church." This incident, continues the missionary, roused up workers, including the powerful Wilbur Fisk. "The Macedonian cry, as it seemed, reached him as a divine mandate. Immediately his voice was heard rousing the churches; especially did he urge on the Methodist Episcopal church an immediate response."

[1] George Catlin, "Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians" (London, Tosswill and Myers, Printers, 1841), Vol. II, p. 109.

[2] D. Lee and J. H. Frost, "Ten Years in Oregon" (New York, J. Collord, Printer, 1844), p. 110.

The response was immediate. Before the year was ended a call was issued for men, Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee, natives of Stanstead, Canada, volunteered and were accepted, missionary meetings were held in New England, and a big farewell meeting was held in New York City on November 20, 1833. Then a halt was called, for news had come of Nathaniel J. Wyeth's return to Boston from Oregon. Jason Lee was sent to Boston to confer with him. Arrangements were made to send the mission supplies by sea on the brig *May Dacre*, and to have the mission party join that of Captain Wyeth early in the coming year. Cyrus Shepard, of Lynn, Massachusetts, and P. L. Edwards, of Richmond, Missouri, were chosen as lay-members of the mission, and C. M. Walker was hired as assistant for one year. Captain Wyeth had arranged to travel with Sublette's fur-hunting veterans, and the naturalists, Townsend and Nuttall, were to be members of the same party, which numbered in all seventy men. This caravan left Independence on April 28, 1834. The missionary band gave a religious flavor to this expedition, for a sermon was preached each Sabbath during the long journey. Though originally headed for the Flathead Indian country, the missionaries continued on their way to the Columbia, arriving at Fort Vancouver in September, where they were welcomed by Doctor McLoughlin. He suggested their selection of the Willamette Valley as headquarters. When the brig arrived with their goods, they went up the Willamette River, about sixty miles from its mouth, and selected a place on the east bank where they at once reared a shelter before the approaching winter should overtake them. Mission work in Oregon had begun.

The Willamette Valley was already occupied by a number of log-cabin homes of retired Hudson Bay Company servants with their Indian wives and half-breed children. To these were offered the advantages of the school, the church, and the ministrations of the mission, so that, from the beginning, the Oregon missions seemed destined to assist the white man and his children as much as the



Indian for whom the work was planned. As this phase of the work was deemed important, Mr. Lee asked for assistants, which request the Board of Missions granted by sending two parties by way of Cape Horn. The first party arrived in May, 1837, and included: Doctor and Mrs. Elijah White, with two children; Mr. and Mrs. Alanson Beers, with three children; Miss Pittman, who became Mrs. Jason Lee; Miss Susan Downing, who became Mrs. Cyrus Shepard; Miss Elvira Johnson; and W. H. Willson. In September, the second party arrived, consisting of Rev. David Leslie, with his wife and three children; Rev. H. K. W. Perkins; and Miss Margaret Smith.

A branch mission was established at The Dalles, considered a strategical point because of its being a prominent place on the road traveled by both Indians and white men. When this mission was arranged for Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, Mr. Jason Lee in that same year, 1838, started overland for the States on business connected with the mission. He preached and lectured in Missouri and Illinois. He was raising money for his mission, but incidentally he was also arousing an interest in Oregon. Furthermore, he had taken with him a memorial or petition signed by thirty-six settlers which was presented to Congress in January, 1839, by Representative Caleb Cushing. These memorialists declared themselves the germ of a great state, and Congress must say by whom the Oregon country was to be populated. This memorial was only one part of the very important document presented to Congress by Mr. Cushing as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on February 16, 1839. The document as a whole is officially known as "House Document No. 101, 25th Congress, 3d Session." Ten thousand copies were ordered printed, which indicates a lively interest in the Territory of Oregon at that time. One interesting feature of the report is the accompanying map, seventeen by twenty inches in size, entitled: "Map of the United States Territory of Oregon West of the Rocky Mountains." Here the forty-ninth parallel of latitude is extended from the Rocky Mountains to the sea,

cutting off a portion of "Quadra & Vancouver's Island," as the northern boundary of Oregon. The land north of that is called British Territory and, south of Oregon, California is called Mexico. East of the Rocky Mountains the land is called "Mandan District." The following is printed on the map in small type: "The prolongation of the 49th parallel of latitude from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific has been assumed as the Northern Boundary of the U. States possessions on the N. W. coast, in consequence of the following extract from the Hon. H. Clay's letter to Mr. Gallatin dated June 19, 1826. (See Doc. 199, 20th Cong. 1 Sess. Ho. of R.) 'You are then authorized to propose the amendment of the third article of the Convention of 1818, and the extension of the line on the parallel of 49, from the eastern side of the Stony Mountains, where it now terminates to the Pacific Ocean as the permanent boundary between the territories of the two powers in that quarter. This is our ultimatum and so you may announce it.'" We have already seen the provisions of joint occupancy were renewed in 1827.

In transmitting the memorial to Mr. Cushing, Mr. Lee wrote a letter dated at Middletown, Connecticut, January 17, 1839, in which he gives probably the first census of Americans in Oregon. Counting those that would go there in 1839, he made out a total of one hundred and fifty-one. The memorial is followed in this document by several letters and memoirs of importance by the following: Nathaniel J. Wyeth; J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War; J. K. Paulding, Secretary of the Navy; F. P. Tracy, Secretary of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society, transmitting the constitution of that society; William A. Slacum, whose report was reprinted from the records of the previous session of Congress; Hall J. Kelley, whose memoir was an extensive survey of the affairs of Oregon and "High California," whose "future addition to our Western possessions is, most unquestionably, a matter to be desired." In seeking to estimate the importance of the services rendered to the cause of Oregon by the missionaries, there should be borne in mind the influence of



ten thousand copies of this great congressional document as well as the bearing of other transactions by Congress and other publications in and outside of Congress.

Jason Lee, as a towering figure in those early days, was later overshadowed by the glamour surrounding the winter's ride by Whitman and by the inevitable centering of public attention by the awful tragedy of the Whitman massacre. Jason Lee was a strong and forceful man, and will eventually emerge to his proper place in history. While industriously working for his mission on this journey, while persuading emigrants to go to Oregon, and while sending to Congress matters of importance to that new land, he was bearing a heavy burden of personal sorrow. A messenger had overtaken him from Oregon, bringing the sad news of the death of his wife and infant child. Some of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal church opposed further work in Oregon because of the great expense. In spite of this opposition, Mr. Lee got all he requested: five missionaries, one physician, six mechanics, four farmers, one steward or accountant, and four teachers. This great reënforcement arrived in 1840, and, counting the children of the families, comprised fifty-three souls. Among the number were Rev. A. F. Walker, Rev. Gustavus Hines, Rev. J. L. Parrish, Rev. J. H. Frost, Dr. J. P. Richmond, Dr. I. L. Babcock, and George Abernethy, some of whom attained considerable prominence. The widow of Rev. J. H. Frost has survived many years after the other adult members of this mission band have gone to their reward. She delights to tell how her husband and his assistant at the Clatsop mission helped to rescue the passengers and crew of the sloop-of-war *Peacock* when wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia River in the summer of 1841.[1]

The arrival of this large additional force in 1840 constitutes the high tide of the Methodists' Oregon mission. The work was expanded and strengthened in the Willa-

[1] See article by present writer on "Last Survivor of the Oregon Mission of 1840," in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 12–23.

mette Valley, at The Dalles, at Clatsop, and one mission was established north of the Columbia River. This was at Nisqually, where Doctor J. P. Richmond planted the first American home in the Puget Sound region. Records recently discovered show that Doctor McLoughlin gave orders for kindnesses to be extended to Doctor Richmond by the officers at Nisqually.[1] But the mission was found to be unsatisfactory, and late in August, 1842, the missionaries left, and their home was soon afterward burned, probably by a revengeful Indian who had been caught trying to steal the missionary's baby boy. The work among the Wasco Indians at The Dalles promised great results, but only for a brief time. Rev. Gustavus Hines visited the place in 1843, and wrote in his journal: "A few years ago a great religious excitement prevailed among these Indians, and nearly the whole tribe, consisting of upwards of a thousand, professed to be converted, were baptized, and received into the Christian church; but they have nearly all relapsed into their former state, with the exception that many of them still keep up the outward forms of religion. Their religion appears to be more of the head than of the heart, and though they are exceedingly vicious, yet doubtless they would be much worse than they are but for the restraining influences exerted upon them by the missionaries." [2]

By July, 1843, the Methodist Board in New York had received charges that they had been misled as to the necessity of so many missionaries in Oregon and, being unable to get proper accounting for the moneys expended, they appointed Rev. George Gary to succeed Rev. Jason Lee as superintendent. Before learning of this action, however, Mr. Lee had returned east, and in 1845 died in Lower Canada. In 1906, his body was brought back to Oregon, and with impressive ceremonies was given permanent burial at the scene of his great labors in those early days.

[1] For the scant details known of this mission, see the pamphlet "In the Beginning" by Clarence B. Bagley.

[2] Gustavus Hines, "Oregon: its History, Condition, and Prospects" (Auburn, Derby and Miller, 1851), p. 159.



Mr. Gary arrived in Oregon in May, 1844, and on looking the situation over, decided to abandon all the missions except that at The Dalles. Before this, the school had been moved ten miles farther south to the site of the present city of Salem. Here a large building was erected at the cost of $10,000. This building was sold by Mr. Gary to the trustees of the Oregon Institute for $4000. From this beginning has grown the Willamette University, the oldest institution of higher education on the Pacific coast. In 1847, the Methodist Mission at The Dalles was transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

This Board was supported by three churches — Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed. When attention was called to the Oregon field in 1833, the Dutch Reformed church decided to undertake some work there, and asked the Board to take charge of it. In May, 1834, Rev. Samuel Parker, Rev. J. Dunbar, and M. S. Allis left Ithaca, New York, to look into the field. They arrived at St. Louis too late for the caravans of fur traders. Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis took up missionary work among the Pawnees, but the next spring Mr. Parker,[1] accompanied by Doctor Marcus Whitman, made the journey to the Rocky Mountain rendezvous with a party of fur hunters. Here they met Indians whose interest in religious matters convinced these advance agents. Doctor Whitman returned for missionaries, and Mr. Parker continued on his journey to the Columbia, and from there he returned home by way of the Sandwich Islands and Cape Horn, after which he wrote his interesting book. Doctor Whitman took two Nez Percé boys on his return trip. "He reached his home at Rushville, New York, at a late hour on Saturday night, and the next morning first made known his return to the neighborhood by entering church with his two Indians, where they produced a sensation, the people supposing him to be in the Rocky Mountains. As he had

[1] Samuel Parker, "Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains" (Ithaca, New York, Mack, Andrus and Woodruff, Printers, 1838), p. 26.

spent Saturday night at the residence of a brother, his own mother did not know of his return until he came down the aisle of the church, escorting his dusky companions. The Sabbath worshipers were no less startled by the strange appearance of the three travelers than by the shrill cry of the missionary's mother: 'Why, there's Marcus Whitman!' The next year, on the journey to the Pacific coast, these Indians were especially serviceable. At one time at the difficult crossing of a river, one of them took a small cord in his mouth and swam across; with this he drew a larger rope over, and thus at last all were safely transferred to the other side." [1]

The Board did not want unmarried men to undertake such a mission. Doctor Whitman laid the case before his sweetheart, Narcissa Prentiss, who at once consented to become his bride and helper. Rev. H. H. Spalding and his frail wife had started for mission work among the Osage Indians. Doctor Whitman overtook them in a sleigh in western New York, and persuaded them to join the Oregon mission. The heroism of this invalid wife and of Doctor Whitman's bride deserves even higher commendation than that of the strong, enthusiastic men. They were the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains, and their success must have had a distinct influence by encouraging subsequent travelers. Convoyed by the fur hunters, the mission party, increased by the addition of W. H. Gray as lay-member, reached Fort Walla Walla on September 1, 1836, and continued on to Vancouver to consult with Doctor McLoughlin, who at once became attached to Doctor Whitman, the friendship continuing through life. Doctor McLoughlin advised them to take up stations at sites suggested the year before by Mr. Parker. Mr. Spalding was to labor among the Nez Percés at Lapwai, and Doctor Whitman among the Cayuse and Walla Walla Indians at a place about twenty-five miles from Fort Walla Walla, called by the Indians Waiilatpu, meaning

[1] Myron Eells, "History of Indian Missions on the Pacific Coast, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho" (Philadelphia, The American Sunday-school Union, 1882), pp. 27–28.



"the place of rye grass." The place is about six miles from the present city of Walla Walla. There the men began to erect shelters, while the women were left at Vancouver. On December 10, the women arrived at the cabin home, and the famous Whitman mission was established. Mrs. Whitman wrote on December 26: "We had neither straw, bedstead nor table, nor anything to make them of except green cottonwood. All our boards are sawed by hand." [1]

Mr. Spalding began the Nez Percé branch in 1837, and was at first vigorous and successful. In 1838, he reported that his field produced two thousand bushels of potatoes, as well as wheat and other articles of food. His school and mission were prospering. In one year two thousand confessed their sins, and professed to be converted. The same Board had been sustaining missions in the Sandwich Islands since 1820. In 1838, the mission church at Honolulu sent a contribution of $80 and ten bushels of salt to the Oregon Mission. The next year, 1839, the same church made a much more important contribution in the form of a small printing-press, with type, ink, paper, and other appliances to the value of $450. E. O. Hall, an experienced printer with the Hawaiian mission, accompanied the press to Oregon in order to give his invalid wife a change of climate. The press was sent to Lapwai, where Mr. and Mrs. Hall remained until the spring of 1840. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding learned to set type and to print. Soon the Gospels and some hymns were published in the Nez Percé language. This was the first example of the "art preservative of all the arts" in the Pacific Northwest. This old press is now a cherished relic in the museum of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland.

The demand for teachers was so strong that the Board sent additional missionaries in 1838. Rev. Cushing Eells and wife and Rev. Elkanah Walker and wife had been assigned as missionaries among the Zulus of Africa, but

[1] Letter to her mother, printed by Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions for 1891, p. 89.

were now transferred to an opposite part of the world and went to Oregon. With them came Rev. A. B. Smith and W. H. Gray who had gone home from the Whitman mission to be married. They left on the long journey in March and reached Walla Walla in August. Mr. Gray went to work with Mr. Spalding, Mr. Smith began a mission among the Nez Percés at Kamiah, sixty miles from Lapwai, while Mr. Eells and Mr. Walker went to Tshimakain among the Spokane Indians. Chief Lot, who died a few years ago, was one of the consistent Christian Indians who traced his conversion back to that mission.

Doctor Whitman was a man of tireless energy and of inflexible firmness. When first coming through Fort Hall, he was told that it would be impossible to take his wagon farther. The wagon was changed to a two-wheeled cart. It was needed for Mrs. Spalding, who could travel on horseback only with the greatest difficulty. Doctor Whitman would not be thwarted, but took that cart as far as Fort Boise near Snake River. The wagon road to Oregon had thus been extended. T. J. Farnham visited the mission in September, 1839, and published this observation: "It appeared to me quite remarkable that the doctor could have made so many improvements since the year 1834 [1836]. But the industry which crowded every hour of the day, his untiring energy of character, and the very efficient aid of his wife in relieving him in a great degree from the labors of the school, are, perhaps, circumstances which will render possibility probable, that in five [three][1] years one man without funds for such purposes, without other aid in that business than that of a fellow-missionary at short intervals, should fence, plow, build, plant an orchard, and do all the other laborious acts of opening a plantation on the face of that distant wilderness; learn an Indian language, and do the duties, meanwhile, of a physician to the associate stations on the Clearwater and Spokane."[2]

[1] Like the date above, this is an obvious error of two years.
[2] Thomas J. Farnham, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies" New York, Greeley and McElrath, 1843), p. 81.



The importance of this American home-building by the missionary has been recognized recently by an eminent historian as follows: "Two years later [1836] came Dr. Marcus Whitman and another company of missionaries with their wives; they brought a wagon through South Pass and over the mountains to the Snake River, and began an agricultural colony. Thus the old story of the sequence of fur trader, missionary, and settler was repeated. The possession of Oregon by the British fur trader was challenged by the American farmer." [1]

In spite of the hard work and self-sacrifice, ignoble trouble arose between these mission bands largely through the jealousy and fault-finding of Mr. Spalding.[2] The Board decided to cut down expenses and end the fault-finding by withdrawing Mr. Spalding and consolidating the Waiilatpu mission with that among the Spokanes. This action was taken by the Prudential Committee of the American Board on February 23, 1842, and on September 26, it was discussed by the assembled missionaries at Waiilatpu. It was decided on September 28 that Doctor Whitman should go east to consult with the Board. Doctor Whitman then sent for A. L. Lovejoy who was encamped near the mission, having arrived with the immigrants of that season. Lovejoy consented to accompany Doctor Whitman on a journey back to the States. The start was made on October 3. On that same day Missionary Walker wrote to the Board that the difficulties of maintaining the southern branch were removed because a reconciliation had taken place among the missionaries. From Fort Hall the two travelers went southward, and after many severe hardships reached Bent's Fort, in south-

[1] Professor F. J. Turner, "Rise of the New West" (The American Nation: A History, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Editor, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1906), Vol. XIV, p. 124.

[2] Mrs. Marcus Whitman, writing to her father, October 10, 1840: "The man who came with us is one who never ought to have come. My dear husband has suffered more from him in consequence of his wicked jealousy, and his great pique towards me, than can be known in this world. But he suffers not alone — the whole mission suffers, which is most to be deplored. It has nearly broken up the mission." —Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1893, p. 129.

eastern Colorado, in January, 1843. Mr. Lovejoy remained there until the following spring when he joined the immigration to return to Oregon. Doctor Whitman pushed on to St. Louis, Ithaca, Washington, New York, and Boston. While in New York, he called on Horace Greeley, and on the next day, March 29, 1843, there appeared a sympathetic editorial in the *New York Daily Tribune* telling of the missionary's labors and sacrifices and describing his worn fur cap and clothing. "We did not learn what success the worthy man had in leading the Indians to embrace the Christian faith, but he very modestly remarked that many of them had begun to cultivate the earth and raise cattle." Mr. Greeley was deeply interested in Oregon. He was printing Farnham's book in the *Tribune*, and afterwards from the same type it was printed in pamphlet form, of which a large edition was issued. A gentleman, who accompanied Doctor Whitman on the steamer from New York to Boston, wrote an article for the *New York Spectator* of April 5, 1843. Here the rude clothing is again described. He said the doctor had left home on October 1. "He has not been in bed since, having made his lodging on buffalo robe and blanket, even on board the boat."[1] The same paper reprinted one and a half columns of Farnham's journal relating to the Whitman mission.

At Boston the doctor succeeded in persuading the committee to withdraw its order for discontinuing the Waiilatpu mission, and at his request the committee approved the plan of inducing some families of Christians to go out and settle near the missions to fortify the work by help and example of right living. Later he decided not to wait for recruiting those special Christian settlers, but to join the large immigration already organized and be of what help he could as a pilot across the plains and mountains. He did not organize that immigration, but there is abundant evidence that he rendered much valuable assistance to those

[1] Both the Greeley editorial and the *Spectator* article are republished in the quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. IV, pp. 168–170.



travelers in reaching the Columbia Valley, taking their wagons with them. This large immigration of 1843, comprising about a thousand souls, practically changed the drift of the Oregon question. It was of immense importance to the American side of the struggle under the joint occupancy scheme.

Before discussing the political significance of Doctor Whitman's ride, let us trace the last four years of his mission. While he was away, some Indians had burned his mill and destroyed other property. Doctor White, Thomas McKay, and others went among the Indians and quieted them. The discontent of the Indians grew from their fear that Doctor Whitman was going to bring many white men who would take their lands, the novelty of the missionaries' services had worn away, measles brought by the white men killed the Indians, there had also grown up a feeling of unrest because Catholic missionaries had arrived, and it was quickly apparent that there was antagonism between the two kinds of white men's religion. In addition to all that, the Indian had a nature of his own that ought to have been taken into account. Doctor McLoughlin knew the Indian nature. He was fond of Doctor Whitman, and advised him to go away for a year or two. The Indians would forget their grievances and welcome him back with joy. But Doctor Whitman believed his duties lay at Waiilatpu, and so he worked all the harder as troubles gathered about him. Even before his famous ride he had become convinced that the mission must serve the oncoming streams of white men as well as the surrounding tribes of Indians. Each caravan must find at Waiilatpu encouragement, strength, and food, physical embodiments of the Christian life. His home became a hospital. One example of this kind of service occurred in October 1844, when the large immigration, under the lead of Captain William Shaw, brought to the mission a group of seven orphaned children, the oldest fourteen years of age, the youngest a babe born on the plains during the journey. Henry Sager and his wife had both died, leaving these helpless ones to the care of others in the party. Doctor Whit-

man and his noble wife braved the disapproval of the Board of Commissioners by adopting the seven children into their own family. Near the house was a mound marking the resting-place of their own little girl, the first American white child born in this region, who had been accidentally drowned when but two years of age. Now they had a family of seven adopted children, with others left in their care from time to time. During the three years that followed, the mission was the scene of continual hard work in the school, the fields, the mill, and among the homes and camps of the Indians. While it seemed impossible that the Cayuse Indians could be ungrateful for all the work done in their behalf, one brave and friendly chief warned Doctor Whitman of a treacherous plot to kill him. Before he could act on this warning and seek a place of safety, the awful tragedy overtook his home. The very Indians most benefited by the mission, led by a miserable mixed-blood named Joe Lewis, who had been clothed and befriended by the doctor, perpetrated the terrible crime. Doctor Whitman had been out all day on November 28, 1847, attending to the needs of sick Indians. Coming home, he found much to do with the sick ones there, and spent the night attending them.[1] On the next day, November 29, one Indian engaged him in talk about medicine when another struck him in the head with a tomahawk. The carnage had commenced. By night ten people were

[1] Mrs. E. L. Chapman, who was Miss Esther Larinda Bewley, twenty-two years of age at that time, wrote to the present writer on December 20, 1894, as follows: "Well do I recollect the night before the massacre. He had gone out caring for the sick Indians for several days. When he came home we were all sick, — the children with the measles, my brother with fever; I had the ague. He sat up all night caring for first one and then another with great kindness. He came up-stairs to give me some medicine next morning about nine o'clock. I was very sick and out of heart. He talked so kind and tried to encourage me; said that I must cheer up, that my brother was better; and that they would take good care of us. That was the last time I saw him until he was a mangled corpse. I do not think that he thought that any one but himself would be killed, but he did not know. I heard him say that he would rather die in a good cause than leave his post for the Catholics. Mrs. Whitman was one of the best women I ever saw, and she had to be so cruelly murdered. I was close to her when she was shot the last time."



killed and mutilated after the cruel savage fashion. The slain were Doctor and Mrs. Whitman; the two Sager boys, John and Francis; a young man named Andrew Rogers who was studying for the ministry; Mr. Saunders and Mr. Gillan of Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. Marsh, of Missouri; Mr. Hoffman, of Elmira, New York; and Mr. Hall, of Missouri, who fled to Fort Walla Walla, was refused admission, and perished later while trying to reach The Dalles. On the second day the Indians found and killed Mr. Kimball of La Porte, Indiana, and Mr. Young. Eight days after the first attack the Indians returned and dragged Mr. Sails and Crockett Bewley from their sick-beds and murdered them. This made fourteen victims in all. About forty women and children were carried away captives, and of these three children, including the two younger Sager girls, died for want of care. Not all of these were members of the mission. Some were immigrants who had camped there for protection until spring, when they expected to move on to the settled valleys of the Willamette or possibly Puget Sound.

Governor Abernethy, of the provisional government, acted as promptly as possible. A force of men was sent into the field under Colonel Cornelius Gilliam and Major H. A. G. Lee who gave battle to the hostiles. The old Indian who boasted of having scalped Mrs. Whitman fell in battle, but five others of the murderers were captured, tried, convicted, and hanged. At the same time the missionaries at the other stations were brought into the settlement for safety. Before this, however, just as soon as it was learned that the Indians had carried off captives, Chief Factor Peter Skeen Ogden, of the Hudson Bay Company, left Vancouver with a lot of goods and hurried to the camps of the Indians where he bought every captive. It has always been claimed that Ogden was the only man who could accomplish that errand of mercy so speedily and so successfully.[1]

[1] One of the girls rescued from that vile captivity is now Mrs. Catharine Sager Pringle, of Spokane, Washington. Not long after the rescue she wrote an account of the massacre and her experiences, which manuscript the present writer has been permitted to copy.

Such a shocking event stirred the people deeply. Books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles of that time charge the Catholics and the Hudson Bay Company with having incited the Indians to their atrocious deeds. It is not necessary here to walk again through the fire of religious rancor that burned then. The case does not at all stand analysis as against the Hudson Bay Company. If the Catholic priests had only gone into other neighboring localities to work among the Indians instead of becoming opponents in a field already occupied by missionaries, they could not rightly have been accused of even contributing to the condition of savage unrest. Aside from the element of denominational discord, there were in the growing superstition and discontent of the savages, aggravated by the scourge of the measles, with the prospects of other ills from the ever increasing stream of white immigrants, causes enough to have produced that sad culmination. The wrangle over the causes of the massacre, however, bears no comparison to the dispute that has raged in recent years over the purposes of Whitman's winter ride over the mountains in 1842.

The pendulum has been swinging violently, and even yet refuses to indicate a place where readers of Western history can rest content. The present writer has been permitted to make readings of this swinging indicator at the two extremes. First, when President S. B. L. Penrose, of Whitman College, declared in a public address at Olympia: "The deeds of Marcus Whitman and his associates deserve a place in the Scriptures as an addition to the Acts of the Apostles." Next, when William I. Marshall, of Chicago, in a personal interview a few months before his death, said: "After a wide and careful search for more than twenty years it is my opinion that Marcus Whitman was not a first-class man; not even a second- or third- but about a fourth-class man." Certainly the desired ground of secure history must be somewhere between these extremes. The whole contention hinges on the claim that Whitman saved Oregon. That claim is altogether too strong; but equally ridiculous is the other claim that he had nothing



to do with saving Oregon. The literature on the contention is large, and increases from year to year.[1] An effort will be made to sift out the greater facts, the larger nuggets, and leave the gravel-washing for the monographists.

There are three main features in this case: danger to the mission, the visit to Washington City, and the great immigration of 1843. In the last analysis the emphasis will be found on the second; namely, the amount of political purpose behind that winter's ride.

It has already been shown that it had been decided to close the southern branch of the mission, the very portion that was able to render important service to the trains of white immigrants passing into the country. Whitman held that white men were bringing civilization into the wilderness, and should be helped in doing so even by men sent as missionaries among the Indians. This menace to his station just when he believed its services most needed was enough to send him on that hurried ride. Fairness demands that another danger, embracing politics and religion, should be mentioned. Late in 1838, two Catholic priests passed down the Columbia River with the caravan of the Hudson Bay Company. That company had been kind to the Protestant missionaries, but from the first it made common cause with the Catholic priests. Archbishop Blanchet published a letter of Governor George Simpson, dated February 17, 1838,[2] saying that the company objected to the priests going south of the Columbia River, "as the sovereignty of that country is undecided"; but if they would go where

[1] By far the best statement of the opposition to the "saved Oregon" theory is Edward Gaylord Bourne, "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," in Essays in Historical Criticism (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), pp. 3–109. The greatest fault of the book is that it tries to prove too much.

The best summary of the other side is Myron Eells, "A Reply to Professor Bourne's 'The Whitman Legend'" (Walla Walla, The Statesman Publishing Company, 1902), 122 pages.

William I. Marshall died before his great work in opposition to the so-called myth was published. Two copies of the manuscript are owned in the West, — one by C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, the other by T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla.

[2] [Blanchet], "Catholic Church in Oregon," pp. 24–25.

the company would direct, north of the Columbia, they would "afford a passage to the priests and such facilities towards the successful accomplishment of the object in view as would not involve any great inconvenience or expense to the Company's service." Here was a recognition, as early as 1838, that the Hudson Bay Company expected to hold the country north of the Columbia but not south. In 1841, the settlers from Red River were brought to Puget Sound by the Hudson Bay Company. This was a menace to the American cause, yet it was perfectly natural and perfectly fair under the treaty of joint occupancy still in force. But the increase of Catholics under the patronage of the company was a menace of peculiar force in the mind of an ardent Protestant missionary three score years ago. From that date both sides refer to the Protestants as American missionaries to distinguish them from Catholics. When Whitman appeared before the Prudential Committee in Boston, he not only persuaded them to continue his mission, but on April 4, 1843, he submitted his plan to introduce some families of Christian men around the stations to furnish good examples to the Indians and "counteracting papal efforts and influences." [1] In this way and to this extent, Doctor Whitman believed he was saving Oregon from what he considered a real danger.

For a long time the opponents of Whitman's growing fame declared that he did not visit Washington City at all, but they were driven from that position when the researches of Rev. Myron Eells disclosed in the office of the Secretary of War a document indorsed, "Marcus Whitman, enclosing synopsis of a bill, with his views in reference to importance of the Oregon Territory, War 382, Rec. June 22, 1844." [2] This letter is from Marcus Whitman addressed to Hon. James M. Porter, Secretary of War, and begins: "Sir: In compliance with the request you did me the honor to make last winter while at Washington, I herewith transmit to you the synopsis of a bill, which, if it could be

[1] Bourne, "Legend of Marcus Whitman," p. 87.

[2] Documents published in full in Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1891, pp. 69–78.



adopted, would, according to my experience and observation, prove highly conducive to the best interests of the United States generally; to Oregon, where I have resided for more than seven years as a missionary, and to the Indian tribes that inhabit the intermediate country." The bill submitted proposed the establishment of a chain of forts and agricultural stations to protect and assist the trains of immigrants. The picturesque interviews said to have taken place between Doctor Whitman and President Tyler and Secretary of State Webster are not sustained by contemporary evidence, and may, therefore, be set to one side, though it is unthinkable that such a man at such a time would leave Washington City without at least calling on the President and Secretary of State. There is much truth in the contention that Oregon was in no danger of being lost at the time of Whitman's ride. On June 6, 1838, a select committee of the United States Senate reported a bill authorizing the President to use the army and navy for the protection of the persons and property of American citizens residing in the Oregon country.[1] During the following year, there appeared the large edition of that Caleb Cushing "Document Number 101" and its map, showing Oregon Territory as part of the United States as far north as the forty-ninth parallel. A still more influential document was being prepared at that very time. In 1837, Congress issued an order for Doctor Robert Greenhow, a translator in the Department of State, to prepare a report on the Oregon question. This resulted in his "Memoir on the Northwest Coast of North America," published by the government in 1840 and later, 1845, enlarged and published as a "History of Oregon and California." Doctor Greenhow's work was accepted as authentic, and was extensively used by the United States in the diplomatic struggle for Oregon. In addition it should be remembered that large numbers of Farnham's book were being circulated in Greeley's *Tribune* and other papers; in short, considerable agitation on the Oregon

[1] United States Congress 25, Second Session, Senate Report 470, cited in Moore's "Arbitrations," Vol. I, p. 209.

question was going on before Whitman's ride. And before the doctor reached Washington City, Senator Linn, of Missouri, had secured the passage of a bill by the Senate by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-two for the government of Oregon. Palmerston, in England, declared that if Congress enacted that law, it would mean war. Notwithstanding the bill passed but one House of Congress, the action shows that there was no danger that Oregon would be traded for a cod fishery as told by Mr. Spalding in the original Whitman legend.

Much more evidence [1] of a similar nature is available, and yet fairness again demands the recognition of an important fact on the other side. After the Senate had passed the Linn bill for Oregon, John Quincy Adams, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives, called on Secretary of State Daniel Webster on March 25, 1843. They had three hours' conversation on various foreign relations, including the proposed annexation of Texas, possible war with Mexico, the conquest of California, and the Oregon question. Adams was America's greatest diplomatist. He knew the trend of affairs, and succeeded in drawing from the reluctant Webster certain facts which he confided to his faithful diary,[2] closing the entry, "But what an abîme of duplicity!" Webster said he had talked over the Oregon question with Lord Ashburton, and that England would make no objection to the United States annexing California from Mexico if England was given the Columbia River as a boundary. So, while the idea that there was danger of trading Oregon for a cod fishery may be scouted, it is clear that a valuable portion of Oregon was in danger through the negotiations pending in the

[1] The late Eugene Semple, former governor of Washington Territory, presented the writer a pamphlet printed first in Washington in 1844, and reprinted in Portland, Oregon, in 1872, giving the record of work in Congress for Oregon by his father while senator from Illinois in 1844. The pamphlet also records the proceedings of two public meetings in the interest of Oregon, one in Alton on November 8, 1842, and the other on February 5, 1843, both of which were held before Whitman arrived in the East.

[2] Charles Francis Adams, "Memoirs of John Quincy Adams," Vol. XI, pp. 344–347.





Doctor Marcus Whitman



hands of Webster, and that, too, at the very time that Whitman was in Washington City. The previous vote in the Senate shows that Whitman's presence did not check or change that pending danger, for such a Senate would not have consented to such a dismemberment of Oregon, and yet Whitman's proved negotiations with the Secretary of War show that he at least contributed his part toward the general cause of saving Oregon.

It has been shown that the heavy immigration of 1843 was of crucial importance. As stated before, Marcus Whitman did not organize or originate that immigration. In fact, he abandoned his own plan of collecting a few Christian families, and pushed on to join the immigrant train already organized. His letters show that he did this because he thought he could be of more real service at that moment by assisting that large number of people to cross the plains. Knowledge of his former trip and of his experiences in Oregon was disseminated by the Farnham book and through other agencies; he may have cheered on some hesitating ones as he hurriedly passed through the West on his way to Washington and Boston. These were aids to the immigration of 1843, but as to his actual helpfulness to that immigration during the journey, there is an abundance of evidence both as to its self-sacrificing quantity and its high quality.

Whitman did not save Oregon. No one man could have done that. Like all other great events in history, the acquisition of Oregon was an evolution from many smaller events and from the work of many men. But in his way and in his time, Doctor Whitman did a man's full share. Nor is it necessary for the Whitman partisans to cling to that one extreme claim. In spite of the ridicule of myths and legends justly hurled upon their insistent presumption, Marcus Whitman is a hero. He wrought faithfully and well. He bravely died at his post for the cause he loved.[1]

[1] Fifteen years ago the writer began an earnest search for a portrait of Marcus Whitman, hoping to persuade the people of the State of Washington to place his statue in Statuary Hall, Washington City. Others were found who had pursued a similar search for years in

The third and last group of workers in this early missionary epoch was that of the Roman Catholic church. We have seen two priests brought out by the Hudson Bay Company, arriving at Vancouver late in 1838. One was Vicar General, afterwards Archbishop, Francis Norbet Blanchet, the other Father Modeste Demers. They were appointed missionaries for "that part of the Diocese of Quebec which is situated between the Pacific Ocean and the Rocky Mountains." As they came to the great mountain divide they consecrated the Rocky Mountains to God and celebrated the first mass in Oregon. After thrilling and tragic experiences traveling down the Columbia River, they arrived at Vancouver on Saturday, November 24, 1838. These missionaries had been sent in response to two petitions, dated July 3, 1834, and February 23, 1835, from the French Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley to the Bishop of Juliopolis. Therefore, the first services rendered were at Fort Vancouver and among the families of the Canadian settlers in the valley. The priests were tireless in their work, and traveled to distant

vain. No portrait could be found. When Doctor Oliver W. Nixon's book, "How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon," appeared in 1895, the author was at once appealed to for the source of his portrait of Whitman. He replied: "Now as to the portraits. They gave me more trouble than anything else. There are no portraits taken from life of either Dr. Whitman or his wife. They are all pictures composite in character and made from a variety of sources. One of my room-mates and most intimate friends, 45 years ago, and still living [Samuel Campbell] was an inmate of the Whitman home the year before the massacre. He was an educated man and something of an artist and capable of giving a wise judgment. Then I had another very intelligent man — a Mr. Seeley — near this city, who drove the Doctor for a week in his sleigh when starting on the journey. Again, the late Professor Marcus Whitman Montgomery, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, was declared to bear so close a resemblance to Whitman that they could scarcely be told from each other. We had the best artists, and they were untiring in their work, and the pictures went back and forth and were criticised and altered until all were satisfied they were as correct as could be made. After the pictures were complete they were sent to an old gentleman, Captain Paulding (I believe) of Baraboo, Wisconsin. He was janitor of the church where Dr. and Mrs. Whitman worshiped in New York. He at once, in looking over the pictures, remarked: "That is truly my old friend Mark Whitman just as he looked the day he married."



posts among the Indians. Lieutenant Wilkes mentions an Indian who came on board his ship at Port Discovery in 1841. He could not speak to the officer, but he took pleasure in making the sign of the cross and singing canticles, showing his instructions from a Catholic missionary. On Whidby Island and at Port Madison similar evidences were found and recorded by the same officers. At midnight mass on Christmas, 1842, an interesting service included ceremonies attendant on Doctor John McLoughlin's return to the church in which he was baptized as a babe. In 1839, missions had been held at Cowlitz and Nisqually, which, with those at Vancouver and at the points along the route taken by the priests in coming down the Columbia, were the first services of that faith in what is now the State of Washington. Arthur A. Denny said the whole village of Seattle listened to the first sermon delivered in the new settlement, which was by Father Demers. This was in 1852.[1]

The restriction of the Hudson Bay Company against the priests' settling south of the Columbia River was removed by a letter from Acting Governor James Douglas to the vicar-general in 1839. From that time headquarters were at St. Paul among the Willamette settlers.

One of the most effective agencies employed by these missionaries in their work among the Indians was the "Catholic Ladder," a pictorial device to illustrate the religion and ecclesiastical history as taught by that church. After a careful study of the "Ladder," C. B. Bagley has declared it well designed for its purpose. "In the hands of the zealous and exceedingly capable men sent out to engage in the work of Christianizing the Indians, it was a highly effective agent in the conversion of those who had not hitherto come under instruction, and in proselyting those who had already listened to the teachings of the Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian missionaries." [2]

Father de Smet wrote from the fork of Jefferson River,

[1] Arthur A. Denny, "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound" (Seattle, C. B. Bagley, Printer, 1888), p. 51.
[2] Clarence B. Bagley, "In the Beginning," p. 29.

August 10, 1840, to Vicar-general Blanchet that he was beginning missions in the Rocky Mountains and hoped to visit him in Oregon. This he did in 1842,[1] when he seemed greatly charmed with the "Catholic Ladder." He visited the Oregon missions again in 1844 and 1845.[2] During a visit to Rome, Father de Smet was alarmed at the prospect of being made a bishop, but succeeded in transferring the burden to the shoulders of Vicar-general Blanchet, his senior both in years and as a missionary in the Northwest.[3]

In 1842, Rev. A. Langlois and Rev. J. B. Z. Bolduc arrived from Canada, and at once began labors under the direction of the vicar-general. These were the first recruits, but when Father de Smet arrived in 1844, he brought with him Fathers Ravalli, Accolti, Nobili, Vercuisse, some lay brothers and six Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, and later the same year Father de Vos arrived from the Rocky Mountains with two lay brothers.

When Bishop-elect Blanchet left for Canada, he had placed Father Demers in charge as vicar-general, and the missions were successfully conducted during his absence. He was consecrated to his new office with impressive ceremonies at Montreal, and then traveled in Europe, seeking help for his work in Oregon. Before returning, his office was raised to that of Archbishop, July 24, 1846. Three sees were created. He was called to the metropolis of Oregon City, Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, Canon of Montreal, was to be bishop of Walla Walla, and Vicar-general Demers was to be bishop of Vancouver Island. The archbishop sailed from France on February 22, 1847, on a vessel carrying to Oregon a religious colony of twenty-two persons. They entered the Columbia River on August 13, 1847. The new bishop of Walla Walla had left Montreal in March, and

[1] [Blanchet], "Catholic Church in Oregon," p. 129.

[2] Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, "Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean de Smet, S.J., 1801–1873" (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1905), pp. 48 ff. and pp. 475 ff.

[3] L. B. Palladino, S.J., "Indian and White in the Northwest" (Baltimore, John Murphy and Company, 1894), p. 43.



arrived at Walla Walla on September 5, bringing with him Vicar-general Brouillet and eight other assistants. At the close of this year the ecclesiastical province of Oregon City possessed three bishops, fourteen Jesuit Fathers, four Oblate Fathers, thirteen secular priests, one cleric, thirteen sisters, and two houses of education.

CHAPTER XV

FIFTY-FOUR FORTY OR FIGHT!

AFTER Secretary of State Webster had secured the ratification of the Ashburton Treaty, he resigned from President Tyler's Cabinet, but before he did so, John Quincy Adams had that interview with him about the Oregon question on March 25, 1843. At that time Webster declared that the United States should open further negotiations with Great Britain on that subject. He was succeeded by Abel P. Upshur in 1843 and by John C. Calhoun in 1844. These secretaries, especially the latter, kept up the negotiations. In the presidential election contest of 1844, the Democratic party, with James K. Polk, of Tennessee, as standard-bearer, declared for the "reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon." One of the campaign cries was, "All of Oregon and All of Texas!" but the more catchy cry was the alliterative one in which we are especially interested: "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" Polk was triumphantly elected, but before his inauguration, President Tyler, seeing that the people had approved the policy he had been prevented from following, gladly signed the joint resolution of Congress annexing Texas. This was putting into effect one of the campaign issues, and it speedily developed a war with the weak power of Mexico. An eminent historian has epitomized America's attitude at this crisis thus: "The Double Game against England and Mexico, — Against England the Strong, a Warlike Policy with the Sword in the Scabbard. For Weak Mexico a Peace Policy with Drawn Sword."[1] The new administration was face

[1] H. von Holst, "The Constitutional and Political History of the United States" (Chicago, Callaghan and Company, 1881), Vol. III, headings of Chapters VI and VII.

to face with the Oregon problem, and a speedy solution was imperative. A member of the Cabinet, Secretary of the Treasury Robert J. Walker, has divulged the receipt of an early and peculiar nudge from a wholly unexpected source. Russia indicated a willingness to give the United States all of Russian America if we would adhere to the claim of 54° 40′, and thus exclude Great Britain from the Pacific Ocean on the American continent.[1]

President Polk at once seized the case, and began an earnest struggle. In his first annual message to Congress, December 2, 1845, he frankly lays the whole situation bare to public view.[2] He was still willing to insist upon the boundary of 54° 40′, but on assuming office he had found negotiations pending along the old familiar lines: America willing to compromise on the projection of the forty-ninth parallel to the ocean and Great Britain insisting on the Columbia River as a boundary from the forty-ninth parallel to the sea. He renewed the American offer through his Secretary of State, James Buchanan, and then Richard Pakenham, the British envoy, renewed the claim to the Columbia River, but added a singular concession. The United States could retain the peninsula from Grays Harbor to Hood Canal and the Strait of Juan de Fuca, with free access to any harbors south of the forty-ninth parallel. This proposal was rejected the same day it was offered, and the United States renewed its claim to 54° 40′. The President informed Congress that the British Parliament had on July 2, 1821, extended her laws over her subjects in Oregon declaring that the courts of the province of Upper Canada were empowered to take cognizance of causes civil and criminal. The subsequent exclusive grant of the Hudson Bay Company required observance of the Joint Occupancy Treaty. Under such conditions, President Polk was urgent in his request that Congress at once give

[1] John W. Foster, "A Century of American Diplomacy" (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1901), p. 404; citing Diplomatic Correspondence, 1867, p. 390.

[2] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. IV, pp. 392–398.

the necessary twelve months' notice to abrogate the Joint Occupancy Treaty, and in the meantime take steps to protect American citizens and interests in Oregon by giving the citizens laws, a chain of immigrant forts, an overland mail, and promise of government lands as soon as authority was complete. Later he asked for an increase of the navy.

At this time the British had settlements at Vancouver, Cowlitz, Nisqually, and elsewhere north of the Columbia, while the Americans had none when the negotiations were pending, the first settlement being planted in the same year the President was preparing that message.

President Jackson's special secret agent, William A. Slacum, who visited Oregon in 1836, gave his strong and important report in 1837, in which, among other things, he advised against giving up the valuable harbors of Puget Sound. The reports of Lieutenant Wilkes were also available after 1842. These two facts help us understand why America combated so strenuously the British claim of the Columbia River in 1845.

When the President reasserted the boundary of 54° 40′, asked Congress for the necessary notice to abrogate the Joint Occupancy Treaty, and called for an increased navy, the British government was taken back. This was an unexpected exhibition of American stubbornness. The British government promptly said that Minister Pakenham was not justified in rejecting the proffered compromise on the forty-ninth parallel. The Minister was instructed to request the United States to renew its offer. On December 27, 1845, he had a conversation with Secretary of State Buchanan, asking that the offer of the forty-ninth parallel be renewed and urging once more that the question be submitted to arbitration. He suggested as arbitrator the republic of Switzerland or the government of Hamburg or Bremen. "I told him," said Mr. Buchanan, "that whilst my own inclinations were strongly against arbitration, if I were compelled to select an arbitrator it would be the Pope. That both nations were heretics, and the Pope would be impartial. He [Mr. Pakenham] perceived, however, that I was not in earnest, and suggested that the reference might



be made to commissioners from both countries. I told him I thought it was vain to think of arbitration; because even if the President were agreed to it, which I felt pretty certain he was not, no such treaty could pass the Senate." [1] Finding that the United States would not renew its offer, the British authorities framed an offer to compromise on that same line. In fact, it is clear now that the British government was ready on several occasions to accept that boundary, but the urgency of the Hudson Bay Company interests prevented it. President Polk's first offer proposed to run the line of the forty-ninth parallel straight through to the sea, agreeing that the ports on the southern end of "Quadra and Vancouver's Island" should be free and open to both powers. In the final treaty the whole of that island was given to the British, which was considered something additional in the way of compromise.

On April 28, 1846, instructions had been sent to the United States Minister at London to give notice that the United States would abrogate the Joint Occupancy Treaty at the end of twelve months. On June 10, the President asked the Senate's advice on a proposed treaty, saying: "General Washington repeatedly consulted the Senate and asked their previous advice upon pending negotiations with foreign powers, and the Senate in every instance responded to his call by giving their advice, to which he always conformed his action. This practice, though rarely resorted to in later times, was, in my judgment, eminently wise, and may on occasions of great importance be properly revived." The advice was given, and the treaty was concluded on June 15, 1846. The length of the dispute, the great publicity it had received in both countries, the national politics involved, and the immense importance of the transaction itself, all combine to justify President Polk in thus seeking in advance the advice of the Senate. And yet that action called forth at the time a sarcastic fling from Daniel

[1] John Bassett Moore, "History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party" (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1898), Vol. I, p. 211. Citation made to Curtis's "Life of Buchanan," Vol. I, p. 558.

Webster. At a public banquet given in his honor in Philadelphia on December 2, 1846, he said: "Now, Gentlemen, the remarkable characteristic of the settlement of this Oregon question by the treaty is this. In the general operation of government, treaties are negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate; but here is the reverse, — here is a treaty negotiated by the Senate, and only agreed to by the President." [1]

The treaty provided that the boundary should be continued along the forty-ninth parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." Which was meant of two channels in that locality gave rise to a subsequent contest which will be discussed later. Ratifications of the treaty were exchanged in London on July 17, and on August 5, the President submitted the completed document to Congress, when he took occasion to urge a speedy organization of a territorial government in Oregon. Again he asked for mail facilities and for provision to make liberal grants of land to the pioneers. President Polk was certainly a steadfast friend of Oregon, and in that treaty of 1846 his administration achieved one of the four greatest diplomatic triumphs in American history, worthy of being ranked next to the treaty of Alliance with France in 1778, the treaty of Peace in 1783, and the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

The battle of debate and diplomacy was ended. American sovereignty in Oregon was actually established. If we accept the dictum of the civilized world that sovereignty over a new land may be acquired by the three fundamentals of discovery, exploration, and occupation, the magnitude of the triumph of 1846 will at once became apparent. Narrowing the contest down to that between the United States and Great Britain, it is seen that the first claims of the United States were based on the discoveries of Gray in 1792, the explorations by Lewis and Clark in 1803–1806,

[1] "Daniel Webster, The Writings and Speeches of," National Edition (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1903), Vol. IV, p. 21.



the occupation of Astoria in 1811. The British had discoveries by Cook in 1778, Vancouver in 1792, and many others more than the Americans, exploration by Mackenzie in 1793, occupations below 54° from 1806 on. When the presidential campaign of 1844 was fought, the treaty of Joint Occupancy was still in force, the Americans had no settlement north of the Columbia River, while the British had many. In all fairness it must be admitted that the British had a clear advantage north of the Columbia River, and even some claims south of the river under the treaty in force. That is why the treaty of 1846 was a diplomatic triumph. Viewed historically, the cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" must be acknowledged a piece of pure Yankee bluster.

But there is still another interesting phase of this diplomatic triumph. Consider the spread of American sovereignty over the broad domain of the United States. The thirteen original colonies were English before the creation of the new republic; Louisiana was under the sovereignty of France and Spain, and France again before its transfer in 1803; Florida was Spanish, English for twenty years, then Spanish again before it became American territory in 1819; Texas had acknowledged the flags of Spain, Mexico, and the "Lone Star Republic" before 1845; the land between Texas and California was Spanish and Mexican before our war of conquest ended in 1848; Alaska knew the double-headed eagle flag of Russia until its purchase in 1867; Hawaii had native kings and an independent republic prior to 1898; the Philippines and Porto Rico were for centuries under the rule of Spain; of all the vast dominion of this great republic, historic Old Oregon is the only portion that has known but one flag in actual sovereignty, the one conquest from the wilderness made under the Stars and Stripes.

PART IV

TERRITORIAL DAYS

CHAPTER XVI

UNDER THREE FORMS OF TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

FROM the time of the famous Ordinance of 1787, the "Magna Carta of the West," down to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands in 1898, many forms of territorial government have been used in the United States for outlying districts. Washington passed through three forms of such government before attaining the full dignity of statehood.

In the first place, Washington was a part of Old Oregon under the famous provisional government. This was a magnificent evolution of the American spirit, beautifully described by President Polk: "They have made no appeal to arms, but have peacefully fortified themselves in their new homes by the adoption of republican institutions for themselves, furnishing another example of the truth that self-government is inherent in the American breast and must prevail." [1] This spirit began to manifest itself just as soon as the first American homes were planted. We have seen the petition sent to Congress in 1838 by the Methodist missionary, Jason Lee. The next year a rough sort of census was made, showing about seventy men, women, and children with American sympathies in the whole of Oregon.[2] In

[1] Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. IV, p. 396.

[2] W. H. Gray, "A History of Oregon, 1792, 1849, drawn from Personal Observation and Authentic Information" (Portland, Harris and Holman, 1870), pp. 187–188. This book seems unreliable because of its intense bias against the Catholics, but, on the other hand, it is valuable because of the documents quoted and facts given about the provisional government.



1840, the American population had doubled, and another petition was sent to Congress, couched in strong but respectful language. The reasons for a Territorial government were enumerated; the country was described in glowing terms; as a warning, it was announced that the British government had a surveying squadron on the Oregon coast for two years, and that the Hudson Bay Company had received a grant of all the land between the Columbia River and Puget Sound. The petition closed: "We pray for the high privileges of American citizenship; the peaceful enjoyment of life; the right of acquiring, possessing, and using property; and the unrestrained pursuit of rational happiness. And for this your petitioners will ever pray." [1] All this desire was focused into action by the death of one of the American settlers.

Ewing Young, from Tennessee, had been a trader in New Mexico. He went to California in 1829, and in 1834 came overland to Oregon with a band of horses. In 1837, he was at the head of the Willamette Cattle Company, which brought six hundred head of stock to Oregon. Such wealth began a transformation in the new region. On February 15, 1841, Young died without known heirs. What should be done with his property? Heretofore the Hudson Bay Company had exercised, in addition to police power, the power of probate over the estates of employees and associates in the wild lands where it operated. Certainly that would not be tolerated in this case. At the grave of Ewing Young on February 17, a meeting was called and on the next day nearly the entire settlement assembled at the Methodist Mission. Several officers were chosen, the most important being Doctor Ira L. Babcock as "supreme judge with probate powers." Until a code of laws could be prepared he was instructed to act "according to the laws of the State of New York." This broad command was spoken of as follows by one of the participants in that meeting: "I query whether there was a single copy of the laws of that State in the country for ten years after the last

[1] Senate Document No. 514, Twenty-sixth Congress, First Session. Reproduced in Gray's "Oregon," pp. 194–196.

resolution was passed. I know there was none at the time, and only a single copy of the laws of Iowa two years after; hence Ira L. Babcock was law-maker, judge, and executive to the settlement, just as much as John McLoughlin was to the Hudson's Bay Company." [1] At the same meeting a committee was chosen for framing a constitution and drafting a code of laws. To secure harmony and coöperation from all parties, this committee was composed of French Canadians, Methodist preachers, American settlers, and the Catholic Vicar-general Blanchet was made chairman. The meeting adjourned "to meet on the first Tuesday of June, at the New Building, near the Catholic Church." Chairman Blanchet reported on June 1 that he had not called a meeting of his committee, so no laws were ready. He resigned, Doctor Bailey was appointed in his place, and a report was requested for the first Monday in August. The committee was instructed to confer with Lieutenant Wilkes and Doctor McLoughlin as to the advisability of adopting a constitution and code of laws. The meeting then adjourned, "to meet at the American Mission House, at eleven o'clock, on the first Tuesday in October next." [2] This was the end of the first attempt at organizing a government for Oregon. Lieutenant Wilkes, of the United States Navy, advised against the scheme, and so the meetings were dropped. In the meantime Judge Babcock had administered the estate of Ewing Young in a manner satisfactory to the settlement, and apparently the immediate need of a government had passed.

However, the desire for an organization did not wholly disappear. In 1842, Doctor Elijah White returned from the East bearing a commission as United States sub-agent of Indian affairs. This was in itself a small matter, but it seemed to hold much of promise to those Oregon pioneers that the United States should give them even that much of recognition. A public meeting was called, and resolutions were adopted, conveying to Congress the thanks of the

[1] Gray, "Oregon," p. 201.

[2] La Fayette Grover, Commissioner, The Oregon Archives (Salem Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1853), p. 7.



settlers. Then some of the leaders began a quiet and adroit maneuver. They proposed to make the next attempt more sure of success than that in 1841. A meeting was held, and the Multnomah Circulating Library was projected. Surely all could agree on this. One hundred shares were sold at $5 each. Three hundred old volumes were collected, and $100 were sent to New York for new volumes. This was one wholesome center for a community of interest. The next was in the shape of a lyceum or debating society. At one of the meetings this question was warmly debated: "*Resolved*, That it is expedient for the settlers on this coast to establish an independent government." It was carried in the affirmative. Then at the next meeting this question was debated: "*Resolved*, That if the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country within four years, it will not be expedient to form an independent government." That was also carried in the affirmative. Thus the debate in itself decided nothing, but the settlers were growing more accustomed to act together.

Then came the famous "Wolf Meetings." The first was held on February 2, 1843, when a committee was appointed to devise means "for the protection of our herds" and report at a meeting on the first Monday in March. At that meeting the committee was ready with a set of eight resolutions providing for the collection of money from the settlers for the purpose of paying bounties for the destruction of predatory animals.[1] This was practically the levying of taxes for the common good. Officers were provided, and the "Wolf Meeting" was a complete success. As it was drawing to a close, one speaker said "that no one would question for a moment that this was right. This was just and natural protection for our property in animals liable to be destroyed by wolves, bears, and panthers. How is it, fellow-citizens, with you and me, and our children and wives? Have we any organization upon which we can rely for mutual protection? Is there any power or influence in

[1] Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 9. "That a bounty of fifty cents be paid for the destruction of a small wolf; $3, for a large wolf; $1.50, for the lynx; $2, for the bear; and $5, for the panther."

the country sufficient to protect us and all we hold dear on earth from the worse than wild beasts that threaten and occasionally destroy our cattle? Who in our midst is authorized at this moment to call us together to protect our own, and the lives of our families? True, the alarm may be given, as in a recent case, and we may run who feel alarmed, and shoot off our guns, while our enemy may be robbing our property, ravishing our wives, and burning the houses over our defenseless families. Common sense, prudence, and justice to ourselves demand that we act consistent with the principles we have commenced. We have mutually and unitedly agreed to defend and protect our *cattle and domestic animals;* now, fellow-citizens, I submit and move the adoption of the two following resolutions, that we may have protection for our persons and lives as well as our cattle and herds: —

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony.

"*Resolved*, That said committee consist of twelve persons." [1]

Those resolutions were adopted unanimously, and from that hour it could never again be said that Oregon was without a government. The committee arranged that a public meeting should be held on May 2, at Champoeg to choose officers. In order to avoid offense by the choice of the first governor, it was decided to dispense with that office and have, instead, an executive committee of three. The list of officers to be chosen was so large that Jason Lee said it reminded him of the organization of a militia company in Canada. "When they had elected all their officers there was one private soldier left. 'Well,' says the soldier, 'you may march me, you may drill me, you may face me to the right or to the left, or about face, just as much as you please, but for mercy's sake don't divide me up into platoons.'"

The public meeting at Champoeg developed a surprising situation. The French Canadians had drawn up a document of seventeen counts saying generally that they were

[1] Gray, "Oregon," pp. 266–267.



opposed to a provisional government. At the meeting these Canadians showed that they had been drilled to vote "No." The clever Yankees then twisted the question into negative form, and the Canadians still voted "No." Confusion resulted. A division was called for, and fifty-two walked across the field to the side of government and fifty remained on the side of opposition. Thus defeated the opponents soon rode away, and the organization proceeded. On the anniversary of that date, in 1901, prominent men of Oregon unveiled a monument on that field to mark the place where the provisional government had its birth.

The legislative committee began its work in earnest to have a report ready for the next public meeting to be held in the open field at Champoeg on July 5. The leaders were not sure of the attitude the Methodist missionaries would take, so they hit upon the scheme of inviting one of them, Rev. Gustavus Hines, to deliver the Fourth of July oration, thinking he could not help discussing the objects of the next day's meeting. The wily preacher gladly accepted the honor, but confined his remarks to a vigorous discussion of temperance, the glorious deeds of our forefathers, and the blessings of the day. He had avoided the trap, but the fears of the leaders were unfounded. The meeting at Champoeg was a success, and the code of laws prepared by the committee was adopted.

The record shows that Doctor McLoughlin made the motion for the adoption of the first law, which would indicate that all the Hudson Bay Company interests did not, at that time, oppose the idea of a provisional government. It was once the fashion for American writers to heap abuse upon the British for opposition to this scheme of government.[1] This is not fair if we have any respect whatever for the treaty of Joint Occupancy. In 1843, at the time of organizing the provisional government, Oregon was more British than American. It was also unfair for those early

[1] See, for example, Theodore Roosevelt, "Winning of the West," Vol. I, p. 36: "It was the rôle which her statesmen endeavored to make her play when at a later date they strove to keep Oregon a waste rather than see it peopled by Americans."

writers to rail so bitterly against the Catholics for their opposition. Oregon was considered a part of the diocese of Quebec. The first priests were sent from there. Nearly every single member of their white flocks in Oregon were Canadians. They all believed the treaty they were living under meant what it said, and that England had an equal chance to save part of Oregon. The leaders of the provisional government themselves tried to retain respect and consideration of those treaty rights. This is shown by the oath administered to officers: "I do solemnly swear that I will support the Organic Laws of the Provisional Government of Oregon, so far as the said Organic Laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States, or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office, so help me God." [1] The same thing is shown in the first "gubernatorial" message delivered to the primitive Legislature on December 17, 1844, by the executive committee before the office of governor had been evolved. Here is the closing sentence of that report: "As descendants of the United States and of Great Britain, we should honor and respect the countries which gave us birth; and, as citizens of Oregon, we should, by a uniform course of proceeding, and a strict observance of the rules of justice, equity, and republican principles, without party distinction, use our best endeavors to cultivate the kind feeling, not only of our native countries, but of all the powers or states with whom we may have intercourse." [2]

And yet, notwithstanding this professed purpose of fair play, notwithstanding the opinion of many in the East and the West that Oregon at most would become an independent state or republic, the provisional government had from the first a strong and distinct American leaning. The preamble to the first Organic Laws discloses this fact: "We, the people of the Oregon Territory, for purposes of mutual protection, and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend

[1] Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 71. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59.



their jurisdiction over us." [1] This was adopted a year and a half before the above-quoted message was delivered. The same tendency was demonstrated by a peculiar contest over that launch of the wrecked *Peacock*, left by Lieutenant Wilkes for pilot service at the mouth of the Columbia River. The new government demanded that the Hudson Bay Company turn the launch over to them. Doctor McLoughlin said he had agreed to keep and use it until its return was demanded by Lieutenant Wilkes or some other representative of the United States government. The Legislature then passed a law providing for the transfer of that launch. Doctor McLoughlin asked if the provisional government considered itself a representative of the United States. This pointed question created an uncomfortable and confusing issue which was not solved until Doctor McLoughlin turned the launch over to Lieutenant Neil M. Howison, who arrived on the United States schooner *Shark* in 1846. By him the launch was sold to an Astoria pilot.

The provisional government was practically reorganized by that large immigration of 1843. During the year after their arrival they settled down into homes, and were ready to take a prominent part in politics in 1845. In that year the idea of an executive committee was abandoned, and George Abernethy was elected governor. The duties of that difficult position he performed faithfully and wisely for four years, when General Joseph Lane appeared as the first governor under the Federal organization of the Territory. John Fiske has given a most appropriate name to the six years from the treaty of Peace of 1783 to the inauguration of Washington in 1789 by calling it the "Critical Period of American History." No such apt term has yet been suggested for the six years of Oregon history from 1843 to 1849. It is certainly a most interesting and critical period. The strong temptation to recite details must be resisted here, though a few of the facts should be briefly recorded. When the first law book arrived in the luggage

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

of one of the immigrants of 1842, it was found to be the laws of the first legislative assembly of the Territory of Iowa, 1838–1839, and this body of laws was adopted almost in its entirety by Oregon in 1843. A kind of initiative and referendum was practiced at the beginning when the people helped the committees to frame the laws and then voted to accept them in the open field at Champoeg. Anti-slavery laws were adopted, and prohibition of the liquor traffic was not only enacted, but on an attempt to juggle it out of the laws the people voted to put "prohibit" and not "regulate" in the law. A postal department was organized, but the price of postage was so high that the postmaster-general ceased to send letters. The governor, toward the end, recommended that letter postage be reduced to five cents in order to induce enough patronage to pay expenses of the office. On August 11, 1845, Applegate, all excitement, rushed into the legislative meeting, asked an immediate suspension of the rules while he introduced a bill to declare it a grave and punishable offense to either give or accept a challenge to fight a duel. In half an hour the bill was passed and sent to Governor Abernethy for his signature. Later Doctor Elijah White warmly thanked Mr. Applegate for getting him out of a bad predicament. He had been challenged by a pugnacious young man named Holderness, who manifestly had intended to fight for a funeral.[1]

As the volume of business grew with the increasing number of American settlers, the Hudson Bay Company became more strict in its demand for gold or silver money. This provoked the Legislature to enact, in 1845, a singular law declaring the legal tender of the Territory to be gold, silver, "treasury drafts, approved orders on solvent merchants, and good merchantable wheat at the market price, delivered at such place as was customary for the people to receive wheat."[2] On December 7, 1847, the governor's message included: "I would recommend the repeal of that part of the act which makes treasury drafts, and orders on

[1] J. Quinn Thornton, "History of the Provisional Government," in Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1875, p. 73.
[2] Thornton, "Provisional Government," p. 73.



solvent merchants, a lawful tender — receiving drafts, however, in payment of taxes and debts due the government. Gold and silver are much more plentiful in the territory now, than two years ago, and could be made the only lawful tender without detriment to the community, still I think wheat had better remain in connection with gold and silver; it is a staple article, and can always be disposed of to merchants and others." [1] This multiple standard of currency, like all business interests of Oregon, was greatly disturbed by the discovery of gold in California in 1848. Many rushed to the gold fields, and some of them brought back gold dust until, in 1849, it was estimated that there was an aggregate of $2,000,000 of dust in the Territory. There was no assaying, and the weighing was often carelessly done. This miners' currency was legal, but it became variable to an aggravating degree. Barrels of Mexican and Peruvian silver dollars arrived. The Hudson Bay Company took these for fifty cents, but the provisional government took them for one hundred cents. Under these conditions a law was passed creating a mint for Oregon to coin five- and ten-dollar gold pieces. Level-headed old Medoram Crawford recorded his reasons for one of the two negative votes. Before the mint became operative the new Federal governor arrived. Then the Oregon Exchange Company was organized, and stamped about $50,000 worth of gold pieces, bearing the device of a beaver. Eventually that curious "beaver money" was called in by the United States mint in San Francisco, a premium being offered on account of the amount and purity of gold in each piece.

From 1843 to 1846, the provisional government took more than one occasion to indicate the area of its authority to extend from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and from 42° to 54° 40′, in other words, all of Old Oregon. The Washington portion of that area had but few people to participate in the legislation. At the Champoeg meeting on July 5, 1843, the people adopted a law dividing Oregon Territory into four districts, two of which embraced all of

[1] Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 208.

the future Washington as follows: Twality District took in all the land west of the Willamette River and a supposed line running north and south from that river and lying between 54° 40′ on the north and the Yamhill River on the south. Clackamas District embraced all the land east of that Willamette line (now known as the Willamette Meridian) to the Rocky Mountains, north of a line projected eastward from the mouth of the Anchiyoke (Pudding) River to the Rocky Mountains, and bounded on the north by the parallel of 54° 40′. This was the first subdivision of the land now known as the State of Washington, though the two districts included lands outside of the present boundaries of this State. These lines were changed on June 27, 1844, when Vancouver District was created to comprise all the land from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and from the Columbia River to 54° 40′. In 1845, Vancouver District was changed by having the Columbia River made a boundary from its mouth to the northern limit of the Territory, the land between the Columbia River and the Rocky Mountains reverting to Clackamas District. About the same time, Lewis County was created to consist of the land north of the Columbia River to 54° 40′ and west of the Cowlitz River. All the districts were from that time called counties.

After the treaty of June 15, 1846, was signed, it was supposed that Congress would at once extend the benefit of laws and organization over the pioneer settlers of Oregon, but there remained nearly three years of irritating delays. It might have been expected that the anti-slavery agitation would cause this delay; that free Oregon must not be organized until a prospective slave Territory could be brought forward to retain the balance of power. This was not the case. Congress and the people were now taking pride in the thought that Oregon had been won by pioneer sons and daughters from nearly all the older States. Before gold was discovered in California the war with Mexico made it evident that the United States would secure California, and thus, with Oregon, possess a magnificent front on the Pacific. While the bill for organizing Oregon Territory was before



Congress, one member proposed to couple it with a bill for the organization of California and New Mexico. "The objection, hurled back sharp and quick, was that it would be wrong to yoke the 'native-born' Territory of Oregon with 'Territories scarce a month old and peopled by Mexicans and half-Indian Californians.' "[1]

Congress passed the Oregon bill, and it was approved on August 14, 1848. Abraham Lincoln was offered the position of governor,[2] but declined to accept it. General Joseph Lane, a veteran of the Mexican War, did accept the place. He arrived at Oregon City, and on March 3, 1849, issued his proclamation putting the new government in operation. For four years more Washington continued a part of the Territory of Oregon. During that time the counties of Pacific, Thurston, Jefferson, Pierce, King, and Island were created.

The gold excitement had reached Puget Sound, as well as the Willamette Valley, causing a rush of pioneers to California. This seemed a good time for Chief Patkanim of the Snoqualmies to carry out his scheme of driving out the white men. He had already driven away the first settlers from Whidby Island, and now, in 1849, he quarreled with the Nisqually tribe, and took his warriors on the ostensible errand of punishing them. At Fort Nisqually, then the principal stronghold of the white men, he entered the fort and demanded that the white men leave. A gun was accidentally fired, and the warriors outside at once began an attack on the fort. The gate was closed with the chief inside. The swivel gun in the bastion was brought into use, and the battle was soon ended. Leander C. Wallace was killed at the gate when the first volley was fired. Walker and Lewis, two other Americans, were wounded, Lewis surviving but a few days. Chief Quallawort, a brother of Patkanim, and Chief Kassass, were tried, convicted, and hanged for this crime. This was early in May.

[1] Joseph Schafer, "Notes on the Colonization of Oregon," quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. VI, p. 381.

[2] Ida M. Tarbell, "The Life of Abraham Lincoln" (New York, The Lincoln History Society, 1907), Vol. II, p. 26.

Governor Lane at once took measures to suppress such lawlessness on the part of the savages. In July, Fort Steilacoom was established, and the Indians became convinced that the white people would not be driven away as easily as they had supposed.

In 1849, Columbia Lancaster moved from Oregon City to his claim north of the Columbia River, at the mouth of Lewis River. He had been appointed supreme judge of Oregon in 1847 on the resignation of Judge J. Quinn Thornton. Lancaster later became prominent in Washington history, but in Oregon his political career attained the anticlimax. After serving as supreme judge he was elected, in 1851, to represent the three northern counties in the Upper House, while Daniel F. Brownfield was elected to the Lower House of the Territorial Legislature. They did not approve the previous session's act removing the capital from Oregon City to Salem, so, with three other members, they went to the old capital and, as a protest, sat in the empty halls for two weeks when they returned home. For this show of obstinacy Bancroft calls them a lot of dunces.[1]

This display of pique was a manifestation of the political unrest which would soon drive the north to a separation from the parent Territory of Oregon. Besides the traits of courage and rugged honesty, the first settlers of Washington manifested a great degree of stubbornness. The first United States judge assigned to their district called court to meet at the house of John R. Jackson on Jackson Prairie in October, 1851, but the jurors held an indignation meeting, and declared they would not thus be driven after the county commissioners had fixed the county seat at Sidney S. Ford's claim on the banks of the Chehalis River. When it became known that the treaty of 1846 contained a provision that the possessory rights of the Hudson Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were to be respected, the superintendent of the latter company, Doctor W. Fraser Tolmie, quite naturally desired to improve, possibly to expand, the holdings of

[1] Hubert Howe Bancroft, Works, Vol. XXXI, p. 46.



his company before the day of final adjustment. One way he took to accomplish his object was to drive a lot of wild cattle across the Nisqually to strengthen a claim to the lands south of that stream. This move caused one of the very first public meetings in Washington. The convention was called to order at Tumwater by Michael T. Simmons, William Packwood became chairman, and a special committee, consisting of Isaac N. Ebey, Antonio B. Rabbeson, and Samuel B. Crockett, was appointed to draw up a protest and present it to Doctor Tolmie. This was on November 5, 1848, and within the one week, allowed in the sharply phrased protest, the company had withdrawn the cattle from the south side of the river.

This early spirit of pugnacity is easily explained. The pioneers acquired Oregon for the nation, and their work was largely in the nature of a continual contest, especially so in the portion that became Washington. The first American settlers went north of the Columbia River in spite of the expressed opposition of the officers of the Hudson Bay Company. It should be quickly added, however, that, though disobeyed in this matter, those same officers were magnanimous enough to extend kindnesses to those settlers in the form of seed, cattle, and other supplies at very low prices. But the contest for sovereignty continued down to the very signing of the treaty. When that contest was ended, the feeling of antagonism was transferred toward the government of Oregon Territory. The distance to the capital was great and not easily traversed. The legislative representation allowed the northern counties was small, and often the few members neglected to attend. The Oregon Legislature gave scant attention to the many needs of the north. There were abundant needs nearer home to absorb attention. The pioneers in the north, accustomed to a contest at every stage of growth, very soon determined to seek a separate organization.

Congress passed the bill on March 2, 1853, when Washington was ready to enter into its third form of Territorial government. How this was accomplished will be told in the next chapter. This form of government was to endure

for a period of thirty-six years, during which the typically American free institutions were to be developed in a manner characterized by Emerson as "the nervous rocky West."

From the very beginning Washington Territory felt itself to be an important part of the American republic. The spirit of bold, self-conscious aspiration was summarized in the first gubernatorial message to the Territorial Legislature, February 28, 1854, in the following eloquent language: "The outpost of the great North-West, looking on the Pacific and on Hudson's Bay, having the elements of a great and varied development, commerce, manufactures, agriculture and the arts, it has received the name of the Father of his Country, and has had the impulse of its life at a great era of American progress and civilization. Its name, its geography, its magnificent waters are known throughout the land. The immigrant looks forward to it as his home; princely merchants as the highway of the trade of nations; statesmen and patriots as a grand element of national strength and national security. Our whole people have risen in their strength and are now reducing the vast wilderness between the two Oceans, and binding our people together with iron roads. The Eagle of our country's majesty has winged his course to the distant West, and Japan, China, Australia, and Hindustan will be brought into fraternal and mutually beneficial communion with us. In this great era of the World's history, an era which hereafter will be the theme of epics and the torch of eloquence, we can play no secondary part, if we would. We must of necessity play a great part if we act at all."[1]

Further evidence of this same spirit is found in the joint resolutions passed at the first session of the Legislature. On April 24, 1854, it was declared that "great advantage would result to this Territory and to the United States of America, by the annexation of the Sandwich Islands." On the next day the delegate to Congress was instructed

[1] Governor Isaac I. Stevens, Council Journal, 1854 (Olympia, Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), p. 11.



to use his influence with the national administration to settle the dispute over the "Archipelago De Arro" and "take steps to remove the foreign trespassers from said Island [San Juan], who are holding possession thereof, in violation of a proper construction of the provisions of the treaty of 1846."[1] Each session of the Legislature yielded a number of memorials and joint resolutions showing that Washington fully appreciated the importance of being an outpost of the republic. One of these memorials was so timely that it played a prominent part in a great national event. On January 13, 1866, a memorial was adopted, addressed to President Andrew Johnson, praying that there be obtained from Russia certain fishing privileges along the coasts of Russian America.[2] We have seen how Russia offered to give us her American possessions in 1845 if we would insist on the boundary of 54° 40′. In 1859, Senator Gwin of California and Secretary of State Appleton had conferences with the Russian Minister in which $5,000,000 was the unofficial price suggested if a purchase was to be considered. But the credit of purchasing, as well as naming, Alaska belongs to William H. Seward. As early as 1860 he made at St. Paul a prophetic speech declaring that those Russian forts and outposts would one day become the outposts of the United States. When the memorial of the Washington Territorial Legislature came into his hands, he made it the reason for beginning negotiations with Russia, and did not rest until the transaction was completed. Seward's son gives an intimate account of a dramatic scene in the Seward home on Friday evening, March 29, 1867. The great Secretary of State was enjoying a game of whist with his family when the Russian Minister was announced. He informed Mr. Seward that the emperor had given his assent to the cession, and in the morning he would appear at the Secretary

[1] Council Journal, 1854, p. 191.

[2] Laws of Washington Territory, 1865–1866 (Olympia, T. F. McElroy, Printer, 1866), pp. 223–224. The memorial was introduced by H. F. Smith, who later became well known as "Okanogan" Smith. He enjoyed the friendship of Horace Greeley and William H. Seward, and had personally visited the shores of Russian America.

of State's office to draw up the treaty. Pushing aside the card-table, Seward made this historic remark: "Why wait until morning, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night." [1] Messengers hurriedly summoned the clerks, by midnight the work was begun, and by morning the treaty was finished. Stoeckl asked $10,000,000; Seward offered $5,000,000, the price suggested in 1859. Then he suggested that they "split the difference," throw off the small change, and call it $7,000,000. It then developed that the Russian-American fur-trading monopoly had certain claims. Mr. Seward said the United States wanted no bother of that kind. He would add $200,000, and let Russia use that sum to make the title clear. This was agreed to and the purchase price was $7,200,000. The treaty bears the date of March 30, 1867. Ratifications were exchanged, and the treaty proclaimed on June 20. There was a terrific outburst of ridicule and abuse of Seward for this transaction. The land of icebergs and polar bears was called "Seward's Paradise" and "Seward's Folly." But Mr. Seward had abiding faith in the land he had added to the republic. He paid a visit to Sitka and other Alaskan points in 1869, passing through the Puget Sound cities in doing so. He died October 10, 1872. On his death-bed he was asked what he counted the greatest achievement of his life. He replied: "The purchase of Alaska, though a generation will pass before this is appreciated." [2] The generation has passed. William H. Seward's prophecy is fulfilled. Alaska has become the land of gold, the land of untold riches of many kinds. The Territory's rapid development has been of immense advantage to the State of Washington. In recognition of his wise statesmanship the city of Seattle is about to unveil a fine bronze statue of Seward on which will be inscribed: "Let us make the treaty to-night."

[1] Frederick W. Seward, "Seward at Washington" (New York, Derby and Miller, 1891), Vol. III, p. 348.

[2] Charles M. Harvey, "Seward, Empire-builder and Seer," in *Putnam's Monthly*, June, 1907, p. 276.



STATUE OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD, BY RICHARD E. BROOKS





CHAPTER XVII

WASHINGTON TERRITORY ORGANIZED

It is clearly shown that the people in the northern counties of Oregon Territory, even though relatively few in number, were abundantly justified in their desire for a separate organization. The area to be included in the new Territory was apparently determined by nature. The majestic sweep of the "River of the West" from its mouth to its intersection of the British line at the forty-ninth parallel embraced enough land to make a large, populous, and wealthy State. The agitation took up this idea from the first. John Butler Chapman moved from Oregon to Grays Harbor in the winter of 1850–1851, and began what he called Chehalis City. His one-house "city" disgusted him. He moved to Puget Sound, settling at Steilacoom, and took immediate interest in the movement for a new government. At the Fourth of July celebration in Olympia, in 1851, he was the orator. That oration is lost to history except in the surviving tradition that he aroused enthusiastic applause when he graphically pictured the grandeur of the proposed Territory and future State of Columbia. Thus the great river contributed the name as well as the boundary. A petition was forwarded to Congress. The agitation was continued. Independence Day was again celebrated at Olympia. This time the oration was delivered by a well-educated young lawyer, named Daniel R. Bigelow, who had arrived the previous November.[1] While crossing the plains he had delivered

[1] In 1900, the present writer had an interview with this pioneer whose farm had been surrounded by the growth of Olympia. In discussing his graduation from Union College and Harvard Law School, he said: "Yes, my people always claimed a good education was wasted on me."

a Fourth of July oration in 1851. The effect of his Olympia oration is best shown by the treatment it received. To further the cause uppermost at the time, a newspaper was begun and named after the proposed Territory — *The Columbian*. Though Mr. Bigelow had made no special plea for a division of Oregon, his eloquent oration was published in full more than two months after its delivery, in the first issue of that pioneer paper, September 11, 1852. The following quotation will show the spirit applauded by those pioneers: "We are now assembled on the verge of United States soil, — no monumental shafts erected on revolutionary battle-fields meet our eyes to stimulate our patriotism and awaken our sympathies. We are far removed from all such scenes, farther than the most enthusiastic actors in those scenes ever expected the results of their labors to extend. But the scene exhibited here to-day shows that the great national heart sends its pulsations, actively, healthfully, patriotically even to this distant extremity. We see the flag of the Union waving over us, and we feel that beneath its ample folds we are at home."

A convention was called to meet at the house of H. D. Huntington, known affectionately as "Uncle Darby," in the town of Monticello near the mouth of Cowlitz River. The convention assembled on October 25, 1852, and adopted a memorial to Congress saying: "The memorial of the undersigned, delegates of the citizens of Northern Oregon, in convention assembled, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies that it is the earnest desire of your petitioners, and of said citizens that all that portion of Oregon Territory lying north of the Columbia River and west of the great northern branch thereof, should be organized as a separate territory under the name and style of the Territory of Columbia." They then appended nine strong reasons and signed their names, forty-four in all. A copy of the memorial was sent to General Joseph Lane who was then Oregon's delegate to Congress. On November 4, the Oregon Legislature adopted a memorial asking for the division, but before this reached Washington City, Delegate Lane had acted on the Monticello document.



On the first day of the second session of the Thirty-second Congress, December 6, 1852, Mr. Lane, by suspension of the rules, introduced a resolution requesting the Committee on Territories to examine into the expediency of dividing Oregon Territory and reporting by bill or otherwise.

The bill was up for consideration by the House on February 8, 1853. The contest, as shown by the Congressional Globe, was by no means a dull proceeding. Though President Millard Fillmore was a Whig, Congress was overwhelmingly Democratic in both branches. The Speaker was a Democrat, Linn Boyd of Kentucky. Delegate Lane was a Democrat. The bill was afforded favorable consideration from the beginning, though obstacles were not wanting. Lane's extended and forceful speech was several times interrupted by questioners, one of whom asked how many people were in the proposed new Territory. This brought the retort: "The population of Columbia in that case will be quite as great as was that of the whole of Oregon at the period of its organization into a Territory." He indorsed the Monticello memorial as a part of his speech and closed his remarks with the following: "That a single Territory of this Union should become a State embracing an area of over three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles, and commanding a range of sea-coast of over six hundred miles, is a proposition so utterly at variance with the interests of the country, and with every principle of right and justice, that I sincerely trust Oregon may not be the State so admitted into the Confederacy."[1]

Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky, said that as we already had a District of Columbia, he would like to see the name of this new Territory changed from Columbia to Washington. Mr. Lane said he would never object to that name. Mr. Stanton then concluded: "I have nothing more to say, except that I desire to see, if I should live so long, at some future day, a sovereign State bearing the name of the Father of his Country. I therefore move to strike out the word 'Columbia' wherever it occurs in the bill, and to insert in lieu thereof the word 'Washington.'" Mr.

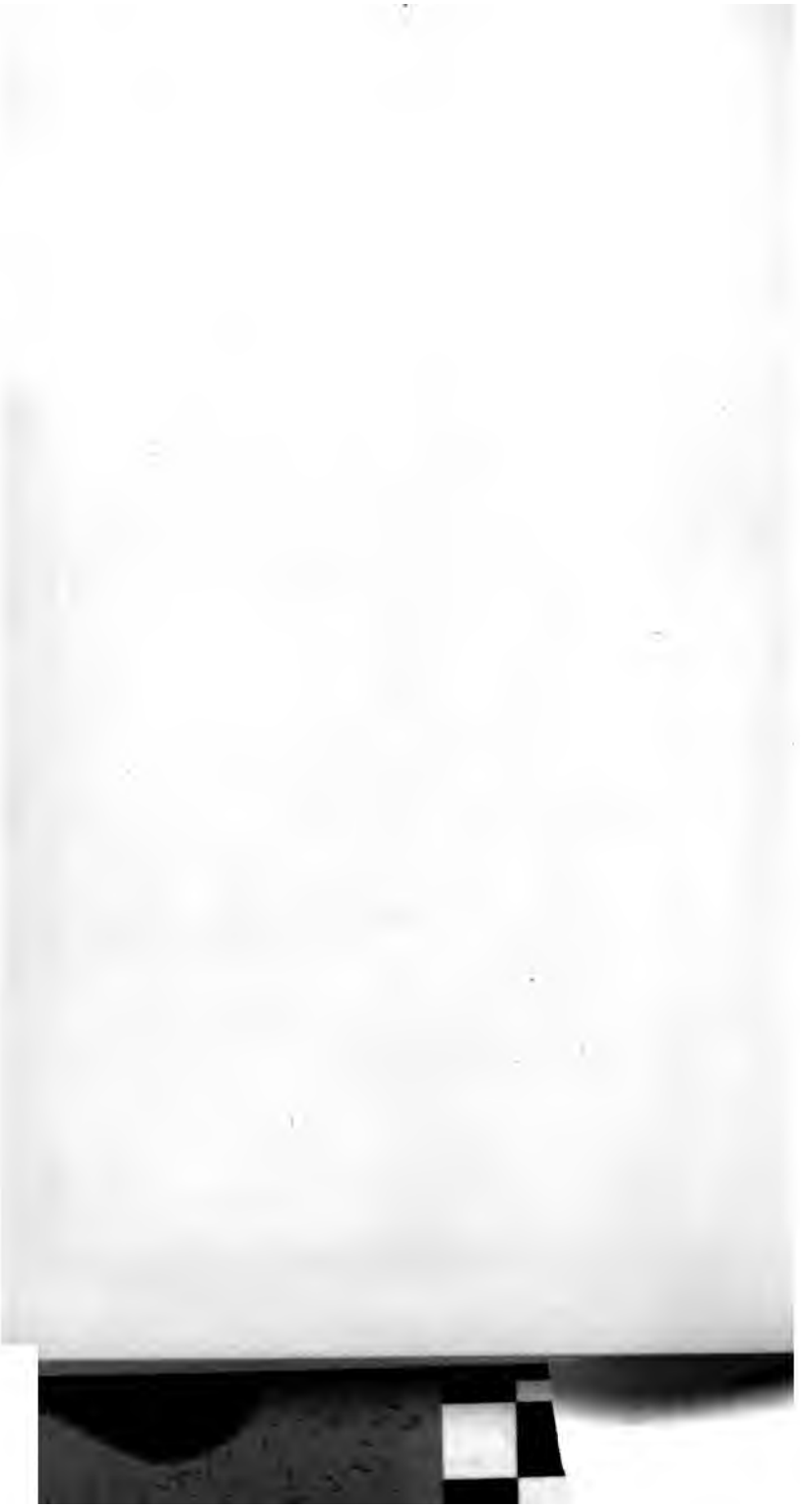
[1] Congressional Globe, 2d Session, 32d Congress, p. 541.

Stanley, of North Carolina, said he hoped that motion would prevail. There was something singular about the case. He had just been suggesting that identical change to his neighbor. The new name was adopted, but not without some opposition. It was pointed out that the same name for the national capital and a State would tend to endless confusion in the transition of the mails. Some appropriate Indian name, it was suggested, would be better. The contest was carried to the Senate, where Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the committee on Territories, reported the bill favorably with an amendment. As time was short the amendment was withdrawn. It was not printed, and only recently a search in the manuscript records of the Senate showed that the Douglas amendment did not favor an Indian name, but simply added two letters, making the suggested name "Washingtonia."[1] The bill passed the Senate on March 2, 1853, and was signed by President Fillmore two days before his term of office expired.

The southern boundary had been changed during the consideration so as to run along the Columbia River to its intersection of the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude, near the mouth of the Walla Walla River, thence due east along that line to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. By that change the area was about doubled. Another large addition was made when Oregon became a State, on February 14, 1859. Her eastern boundary was defined: "thence up the middle of the main channel of said river [Snake], to the mouth of the Owyhee River; thence south, to the parallel of forty-two degrees north."[2] This left all of the present State of Idaho and portions of Montana and Wyoming attached to Washington until March 3, 1863, when Idaho Territory was organized, giving Washington its present eastern boundary.

[1] C. L. Wayland, an experienced postoffice inspector, says the confusion of mails is so great and so expensive that every business man of this State should use every possible means to change the name of the national capital, preferably to Washingtonia. Senator Piles caused the search disclosing the Douglas amendment.

[2] M. P. Deady, Compiler, "The Organic and Other General Laws of Oregon" (Portland, Henry L. Pittock, Public Printer, 1866), p. 126.





ISAAC I. STEVENS
1853–1857
First Governor of the Territory



The law of March 2, 1853, creating Washington Territory was known as the Organic Law. For thirty-six years it, with amendments added from time to time by Congress, served as the Territory's constitution.

President Franklin Pierce, who assumed the duties of his office on March 4, 1853, selected the first officers of Washington Territory. J. Patton Anderson accepted the place of United States Marshal, and hurried on ahead of the others to take a census so that information would be at hand when a call should be made for the election of the first Legislature. The result of his work shows that the questioner in Congress was adroitly outwitted by Delegate Lane. There were only three thousand nine hundred and sixty-five souls, of whom but sixteen hundred and eighty-two were voters, in the whole Territory. The first secretary of the Territory, Charles H. Mason, was honored later by having a county named for him. The most important officer was the governor. Isaac Ingalls Stevens was born in Andover, Massachusetts, March 25, 1818. He graduated from West Point, at the head of his class in 1839. As an officer of engineers, he built fortifications along the Atlantic coast until the Mexican War broke out. He gained distinction for ability and courage in that war, coming out of it on crutches. He was in charge of the United States Coast Survey office at Washington in March, 1853. That was before the Kansas-Nebraska legislation of 1854, when Douglas "threw the bone of contention among the sleeping dogs of war." Stevens thought there was no probability of a military career being open to him. He accepted the office of the first governor of Washington Territory. His energy, ambition, and capacity seemed alike boundless. After accepting the office of governor, he desired to make himself as useful as possible. He sought for and obtained the additional office of superintendent of Indian affairs of the same district and also the command of the party to survey the railroad route from the Mississippi River to tide-water on Puget Sound.

His party of surveyors comprised two hundred and forty-

three men, including eleven army officers and a number of scientists and artists. They examined nine passes through the Rocky Mountains, and in all surveyed a zone two thousand miles long and from two hundred to four hundred miles wide. He demonstrated the practicability of a railroad across the continent. These surveys were being made under the supervision of the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, who strenuously opposed the northern route. He belittled Stevens' work in an effort to force the adoption of the southern route, and yet he was magnanimous enough when appealed to later by Stevens to lay aside his opposition, while United States senator from Mississippi, to secure the publication of the survey reports. Those reports have ever since proved a perfect storehouse of useful information.

When the party had arrived at Cadotte's Pass, the leader gathered his men around him and went through a little ceremony to welcome them to the Territory of Washington, where they had just arrived by having passed over the divide of the Rocky Mountains.

Captain George B. McClellan had been sent ahead with a party of men to survey a road through the Yakima Valley and the Naches Pass to Puget Sound, and he was directed to let contracts to construct a wagon road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Steilacoom. He failed in both, though he reached the summit of the Cascade Range before turning back toward Walla Walla. His excuse was that the mountains were impassable. Governor Stevens was determined to have that part of his survey completed, and next sent Frederick W. Lander with a party of men, but he likewise turned back. McClellan was again sent from the west to push through Snoqualmie Pass and complete the line of his surveys. He turned back with more excuses. Similarly he gave up surveys of the Puget Sound harbors on account of the stormy weather. In the meantime the governor had sent Lieutenant Tinkham to Fort Benton. He now sent him a message, reaching him at Fort Walla Walla, to divert his return by way of the Yakima Valley and the Cascade Mountains, taking care to measure the



depth of snow as he did so. Tinkham succeeded easily, with only two Indian companions, and arrived at Puget Sound ten days after McClellan had given up before reaching Snoqualmie Pass. This made McClellan angry, and he carried his ill feeling to Washington City.

Governor Stevens took his main party down the Columbia and over the usual route by way of the Cowlitz River to Olympia, arriving there on November 25, 1853. There is a delicious legend about his first reception at Olympia. He had pushed on ahead of his party, and when he arrived alone he was tired, dirty, and hungry. He sought the only place that looked like a dining hall, but was refused admission. "We are going to have doin's here," said the chef, "and we can't feed strangers till after they're over."

"Well, see here. I am hungry. Can't you give me some of the scraps at the kitchen table?"

"Oh, yes. I guess we can do that."

After satisfying his appetite, the governor walked out into the street. There a man accosted him and complained about the slow arrival of the new governor.

"Then I suppose I am the man you are looking for."

"You!"

"Yes."

When satisfied that the small, travel-stained man was really the new governor, the man began beating a discarded circular saw hung to a post. This was the signal. Men swarmed from cabins and forest. They filed into the dining hall, placed the governor at the head of the table, but there he sat unable to eat a mouthful. He was chock full of scraps.

Before leaving Washington City, Governor Stevens wrote, on April 18, 1853, to A. A. Denny of Seattle, asking his advice about the location of the capital and on other points.[1] After consulting with all the people he could reach, he made use of Marshal Anderson's census, and issued a proclamation calling for the election of a Legislature and other officers. This document was dated November 28,

[1] That letter is still in the possession of the Denny family at Seattle.

1853. It called the election for January 30, 1854, and the assembling of the Legislature for February 27, 1854, naming Olympia as the place for the first meeting.

After arranging these matters, he made a tour of Puget Sound in an open sailboat, going as far as Victoria, where he consulted with Sir James Douglas about the claims of the Hudson Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company for holdings in the United States. He had now visited Colville, Walla Walla, Vancouver, Cowlitz Farms, Nisqually, — all the posts, in fact, but Okanogan. He wrote Secretary of State Marcy that the value of all the possessory rights of the two companies would not exceed the sum of $300,000. Negotiations were begun to settle on this basis, but the companies claimed five millions, and later a joint committee compromised on $650,000.

On February 28, the next day after all the Legislature convened, Governor Stevens delivered his first gubernatorial message.[1] It is one of the best documents in the history of Washington. Full of enthusiastic hope, it points the way for those pioneer law-givers to lay deep and broad the foundations for the commonwealth's future legal edifice. The need of schools and roads was emphasized. He advised the memorializing Congress for a number of things, including the grant of money to make treaties with the Indians east of the Cascade Range.

The Legislature responded nobly to the vigorous lead of the governor. The very first law shows the wisdom that actuated them. It embodied a request for the three judges of the district court — Edward Lander, Victor Monroe, and William Strong — to act as an advisory code commission to help them enact the first fundamental body of laws.[2] Forty-fours years afterward one of the surviving members of that first session declared that it would have been well for the Territory if it had been compelled to use that first book of laws without amendment for a dozen years or more.

[1] Council Journal, Washington Territory, 1854, pp. 10 ff.

[2] House Journal, 1854, p. 138. The three judges declare: "No legislative body ever met who evinced more decidedly a determination to be governed in all their acts by a desire to promote the public good."



The legislative journals reveal two attempts at law making that failed. An amendment to grant the suffrage to white women failed by one vote in the House. It is known to the writer that at least one of the men who voted in the negative had an Indian woman for wife. That may help to explain the defeat of the measure. An attempt to enact the new Maine prohibition law also met defeat.

Earnest, honest, and industrious as these frontier legislators were, they were also joyous, wholesome men who loved their jokes. In the closing hours, while waiting for the last bills to be enrolled and signed before adjournment, they adopted some fake laws in a spirit of fun. One of these sought to regulate poker games on Puget Sound.

Arthur A. Denny was a member of that first Legislature. He has left a picture of the closing scene as follows: "I had made arrangements for a large canoe and crew of Indians to take me home on the morning after adjournment, and was hurrying to the boat, when a 'committee from headquarters' gave chase. Headquarters was the place where the 'boys' were having a high old time. I was captured and taken back to headquarters. I was offered a glass of whisky, and upon declining, the crowd yelled: —

"'Make him drink! Make him drink.'

"They grabbed me by the collar, and I settled back for what I supposed was going to be a nasty fight, when Elwood Evans spoke up as follows: —

"'No, boys, don't make him drink. I propose that we drink to the health of the only member of the Legislature who consistently lives up to the principles of the Maine liquor law.'

"This seemed to satisfy the crowd. They drank most heartily to my health, and I made my escape to the waiting canoe. As I hastened along I noticed my good friend, George N. McConaha, president of the first council, running like a deer with another 'headquarters committee' at his heels. They caught him, and the last time I saw my friend the committee was marching him back to headquarters. Now Mr. McConaha was a man of superior parts, and one I always held in the highest esteem. He had been previously

addicted to the liquor habit, and I never saw a man make more heroic efforts than he did to overcome that habit. So you can imagine with what feelings of sorrow I pushed off the Olympia beach with my canoe. On his return Mr. McConaha's canoe was overturned in a storm off the southern shore of Vashon Island, and he was drowned. The delay and the liquor at the 'headquarters' may have had nothing to do with his death, but there are many people who will always believe that he would have continued in a long life of usefulness if he had not been overtaken by that unfortunate committee." [1]

One other member of that first session, Representative L. F. Thompson, of Pierce County, had the unique honor of being elected from the same county to the Senate of the first State Legislature in 1889. It is not known that there is now a single surviving member of that first Territorial Legislature.[2]

[1] *Western Trail* for January, 1900, p. 167.

[2] In Territorial days the Upper House was called the council. The members of the first council were: D. F. Bradford and William H. Tappan of Clarke County; Seth Catlin and Henry Mills of Lewis and Pacific counties; D. R. Bigelow and B. F. Yantis of Thurston County; Lafayette Balch and G. N. McConaha of Pierce and King counties; William P. Sayward of Jefferson and Island counties.

The members of the first House of Representatives were: Andrew J. Bolon, John D. Biles, F. A. Chenoweth, Henry R. Crosbie, and A. Lee Lewis for Clarke County; Samuel D. Howe for Island County; Daniel F. Brownfield for Jefferson County; Arthur A. Denny for King County; H. D. Huntington and John R. Jackson for Lewis County; Jehu Scudder for Pacific County; John M. Chapman, Henry Moseley, and L. F. Thompson for Pierce County; Leonard D. Durgin, Calvin H. Hale, David Shelton, and Ira Ward for Thurston County.



CHAPTER XVIII

INDIAN TREATIES

COLUMBIA LANCASTER had been elected as first delegate to Congress from Washington Territory.[1] But he knew nothing of the new objects of importance involved in the railroad surveys. The Legislature therefore approved the plan of Governor Stevens, to go at once to Washington City. This approval was given by joint resolution on March 6, 1854, and though the Legislature continued in session until May 1, the governor left Olympia for Washington City by way of San Francisco and the Isthmus on March 26, leaving the young secretary, Charles H. Mason, to serve as acting governor. In San Francisco he addressed a large audience in Music Hall on Bush Street, giving the experiences and results of his surveys. The *San Francisco Herald* published a strongly commendatory editorial. Mr. Stevens favored three transcontinental railways along the routes surveyed, northern, southern, and middle. His own work had demonstrated the practicability of the northern route, and he doubted not the other parties would be equally successful.

On arriving in the East, Governor Stevens joined his family, but soon hurried on to Washington City, where he plunged into the strenuous work for the new Territory. He was compelled to overcome the opposition of Secretary of War Davis to the work of the northern surveys. He had the work approved up to that date, but Mr. Davis defeated the proposal to continue and complete those surveys. The governor later did that work without govern-

[1] In 1849, Mr. Lancaster had built the finest residence in northern Oregon near the mouth of Lewis River. Later the place became the property of the pioneer, Rev. A. L. Lindsley, whose son, Hon. A. A. Lindsley, first State treasurer of Washington, permitted the writer in 1895 to glean among the old Lancaster documents in the garret.

ment aid, using his own means and relying on the help of Indian agents and others. The results of that determined, self-sacrificing work by the governor may be found in Parts I and II of Volume XII of the Pacific Railroad Reports. Congress provided for a surveyor-general, for general surveys and mail service, gave $10,000 toward the expense of making a treaty of peace with the troublesome Blackfoot Indians and $30,000 for a wagon road from Fort Benton to Walla Walla. On July 21, 1852, Congress had declared in favor of extinguishing the Indian title to lands in Oregon west of the Cascade Range. But no appropriation had been made. In response to the governor's message the Territorial Legislature had memorialized Congress on April 12, to provide the money to make those treaties and at the same time to provide for treaties with the tribes east of the Cascades. On the governor's urging, this was also done, making a fine record for success on his part while supplementing the duties of Delegate Lancaster.

Governor Stevens, accompanied by his family, returned to Olympia late in November. The second session of the Legislature convened on December 4, 1854, and remained in session until February 1, 1855. On the second day of this session the governor gave his regular message, sweeping the field of all that had been done and that needed to be done for the new Territory. His closing words were: "In closing this communication, I will indulge the hope that the same spirit of concord and exalted patriotism which has thus far marked our political existence, will continue unto the end.

"Particularly do I invoke the spirit in reference to our Indian relations. I believe the time has now come for their final settlement. In view of the important duties which have been assigned to me, I throw myself unreservedly upon the people of the Territory, not doubting that they will extend to me a hearty and generous support in my efforts to arrange, on a permanent basis, the future of the Indians of this Territory." [1]

[1] House Journal, Washington Territory, 1854–1855 (Olympia, Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), p. 15.





BENJAMIN F. SHAW

Before the Legislature had finished its work the governor entered upon the making of Indian treaties. The first one was concluded on December 26, 1854, on "the Shenah-nam, or Medicine creek" with the "chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawksin, S'Homamish, Steh-chass, T'Peek-sin, Squiaitl and Sa-heh-wamish tribes and bands of Indians, occupying the lands lying round the head of Puget's sound and the adjacent inlets." The treaty was signed by the governor. Then follow the names of sixty-two Indians, the third of which was Lesh-High. Nineteen white men signed as witnesses. These included M. T. Simmons, Indian agent; James Doty, secretary of the commission; C. H. Mason, secretary of Washington Territory; Benjamin F. Shaw, interpreter; George Gibbs; and Hazard Stevens, the young son of the governor. By the terms of the treaty the Indians ceded their title to the lands, except certain parts to be held as reservations. The rights of the Indians to fish and hunt at the usual places were protected. As compensation for the land cession the government would pay annual installments aggregating the sum of $32,500 and an additional sum of $3250 to prepare the reservations for occupancy. If occasion should arise, the President of the United States might remove the Indians to other reservations. The Indians agreed to keep the peace, free their slaves, exclude ardent spirits from the reservations, and not to trade at Vancouver Island or elsewhere outside the dominions of the United States. It was promised that the United States would furnish an agricultural and industrial school at some central agency and supply instructors, a smithy, a carpenter, and a physician. The treaty was ratified by the Senate and proclaimed by President Franklin Pierce on April 10, 1855.

This initial treaty was important, as it paved the way for others and disclosed the best methods to pursue. The governor later discovered that a mistake had been made in giving the Nisquallies an unsatisfactory reservation. On his recommendation that error was corrected. It was deemed honorable and essential that the government

should endeavor to settle these questions with the Indians. It is altogether probable that the treaties contributed toward the causes of the wars that followed them. The Indians saw that the white men were coming to take their lands. These negotiations were proof of that fact, and the Indians simply endeavored to make one more stand against the wave of civilization thus threatening to engulf their old ways of living. The charge, made by some, that the wars were caused by Governor Stevens or his method of making the treaties, is both unfair and untrue. Hazard Stevens says: "In all his councils Governor Stevens took the greatest pains to make the Indians understand what was said to them. To insure this, he always had several interpreters to check each other and prevent mistakes in translation, and was accustomed to consult the chiefs as to whom they wanted as interpreters." [1] The talks at the treaty councils would prove interesting to those studying deeply the history of the Northwest. An attempt was made in 1895 to secure copies of all the talks, but Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. M. Browning replied that the mass of manuscripts was so great he could not afford the time of a clerk to count the pages and estimate the cost of copying unless assured that the work would be ordered. That mass of writing emphasizes the care and patience used in making the treaties.

During that same winter three other treaties were made with the western Washington Indians, all similar in their provisions to the Medicine Creek treaty. On January 22, 1855, the Point Elliott treaty was concluded at the council grounds near the present town of Muckilteo, with the Duwamish, Suquamish, and allied tribes extending along the eastern portion of Puget Sound as far as Bellingham Bay. There were eighty-two Indian signers, including: "Seattle, chief of the Duwamish and Suquamish tribes; Pat-ka-nam, chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish, and other tribes; Chow-its-hoot, chief of the Lummi and other

[1] Hazard Stevens, "The Life of Isaac Ingals Stevens" (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1900), Vol. I, p. 455.



tribes; Goliah, chief of the Skagits and other allied tribes." [1] The treaty was not proclaimed until April 11, 1859.

On January 26, 1855, the Point-No-Point treaty was concluded with the Clallam, Chimakum, Skokomish or Twana, and neighboring tribes of Hood Canal and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Fifty-six Indians signed, the principal ones being: "Chits-a-mah-han, the Duke of York, chief of the S'klallams; Dah-whil-luk, chief of the Sko-ko-mush; Kul-kah-han, or General Pierce, chief of the Chem-a-kum." This treaty was ratified on March 8, 1859.

On January 31, 1855, the treaty of Neah Bay was concluded with the several villages of the Makah tribe. The head chief was Tse-kauwtl, who signed with forty-one subchiefs and delegates. Like the former two treaties, the proclamation of this treaty was deferred until April 18, 1859.

Thus far the treaty making had been confined to the Canoe Indians of Puget Sound and vicinity. Some of them joined later in the wars against the white people, but for the most part they were friendly. Most of their trouble had come from the marauding bands of northern or Alaskan Indians who occasionally swooped down upon them for plunder and slaves. Occasionally also they had been troubled by visits of warlike Indians from the Yakima country whom they called Klickitats, meaning "robbers." It now became necessary for the governor to treat with the tribes on the other side of the mountains. He sent runners to ascertain the place where the Indians would like to meet in council. The place chosen was in the beautiful valley of Walla Walla, about where the present city of that name is located. The governor was joined by General Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory. Arriving at The Dalles, they were given an escort of about fifty men by Major G. O. Haller, in command there. Lieutenant Lawrence Kip accepted an invitation to go with the escort as a guest. After returning to San Francisco, he published a graphic account of the Walla

[1] Charles J. Kappler, editor, "Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties" (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1904), Vol. II, p. 672.

Walla council in the form of a journal.[1] His entry for May 24 tells of the arrival of about twenty-five hundred of the Nez Percé tribe, all painted and gaudily decorated, true specimens of the wild warriors of the plains. "When about a mile distant they halted, and half a dozen chiefs rode forward and were introduced to Governor Stevens and General Palmer, in order of their rank. Then on came the rest of the wild horsemen in single file, clashing their shields, singing and beating their drums as they marched past us. Then they formed a circle and dashed around us, while our little group stood there, the center of their wild evolutions. They would gallop up as if about to make a charge, then wheel round and round, sounding their loud whoops until they had apparently worked themselves up into an intense excitement." It was all a friendly demonstration, for it later became evident that the Nez Percés were the only real friends at the council.

In all nearly six thousand Indians gathered at that council, and three weeks were necessary to conclude the treaties. The Cayuses, who had perpetrated the Whitman massacre, eight years before, were now plotting to kill these white men, then attack the garrison at The Dalles, and from that point sweep on, arousing the other tribes and clearing the whole region of the hated white men. Governor Stevens and his associates did not know of this plot. The Indians would assemble to hear the speeches of the white men, and then Young Chief of the Cayuses would ask for time to think it over. He would use the time perfecting his plot. In this he was aided by Chief Pio-pio-mox-mox of the Walla Wallas, Kamiakin of the Yakimas, and others. They kept the scheme from the knowledge of the Nez Percés until Head Chief Lawyer of that tribe became suspicious and sent a spy who ferreted out the whole plot. On Saturday night, June 2, Lawyer visited Governor Stevens alone and told him of the plot. The governor asked the friendly chief what should be done. Lawyer replied that he would move his lodge and his family into the white chief's camp, and let

[1] Republished by F. G. Young, editor, in "Sources of the History of Oregon" (Eugene, Star Job Office, 1897), Vol. I, No. 2.



the plotters know that the company of white men was under the protection of the Nez Percés. Before morning the move was made, and the murderous plot was ended. It was all very quietly done. The governor took Secretary Doty and Packmaster Higgins into the secret, but none of the others learned of the danger thus averted by Lawyer until long afterwards.

By June 11, three treaties were completed. One with the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes had among the thirty-six Indian signers the three head chiefs: Pio-pio-mox-mox of the Walla Wallas, Weyatenatemany of the Cayuses, and Wenap-snoot of the Umatillas. Chief Steachus, who had warned Doctor Whitman of his approaching death, and Chief Five Crows, who so cruelly misused Esther Bewley, one of the Whitman captives, were both among the treaty signers. The Indians belonging to both Oregon and Washington, Governor Stevens and General Palmer joined their signatures on the part of the United States. The treaty was ratified on March 8, 1859.

The treaty with the "Yakima Nation of Indians" was signed by Kamiakin, Skloom, Owhi, and eleven other sub-chiefs and delegates. When he had reluctantly agreed to the treaty, Kamiakin said: "Don't offer me any presents. I have never yet accepted one from a white man. When the government sends the pay for these lands, I will take my share." This treaty was also ratified by the Senate on March 8, 1859.

The Nez Percés were saved to the last. They received a larger reservation, which their numbers entitled them to even if their magnificent bearing at the council had not earned for them special consideration. At the time of the treaty the lands they wanted were practically free of white settlers. Later the discovery of gold and attractive valleys brought trouble. The government violated this treaty and tried to make others. The result was the disgraceful Nez Percé war of 1877. As in the former case, Governor Stevens and General Palmer joined in signing this treaty. Lawyer, the head chief, was the first Indian to sign, and next came Looking-glass. Among the other

signers was Chief Joseph, whose son by the same name later became famous as a leader and general in the war of 1877.

At Hell Gate, in the Bitter Root Valley, Governor Stevens made a treaty with the "Flatheads, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles Indians." From there he pushed on to meet the other commissioners coming from the east to make a treaty of peace with the warlike Blackfoot Indians. The governor afterwards told how it became necessary to change the council ground from Fort Benton to the mouth of Judith River. He then hurried messengers to all the tribes, and to the Gros Ventres he sent his own son Hazard, then a boy thirteen years old. The boy, accompanied only by an interpreter, made that remarkable ride, and performed the duty perfectly, from ten o'clock in the morning to half-past three o'clock the following day. The father's apparent pride in that achievement was certainly justified. This important treaty was concluded on October 17, 1855 and was ratified by the Senate, April 15, 1856. The Indians, who had the reputation of being the most implacable foes since their quarrel with Lewis and Clark in 1806, now ceased their raids against their neighboring tribes as well as against the trains of white settlers.

Starting back toward Olympia, Governor Stevens was met by his messenger Pearson, who had doubled back on his track to bring the news that Pio-pio-mox-mox had dug up the recently buried war hatchet, and was now waiting to cut off the governor and his party of peacemakers. The governor was advised to return to Olympia by way of New York and the Isthmus, but he concluded to again rely on the friendliness of the Nez Percés. When he reached their camps and explained his needs, a force of warriors was quickly summoned and began the march along Snake River toward the Walla Walla Valley. When they arrived in that valley, it was found that the little war was over. The governor of Oregon had sent four hundred volunteers against the hostiles, who were thoroughly defeated, their Chief Pio-pio-mox-mox being among the slain. News of Indian wars in various parts of the Territory now reached the governor, who hastened toward Olympia, arriving there



on January 19, 1856. Before discussing the wars it is well to consider the last of the ten treaties made by Governor Stevens.

After having concluded the treaties with the tribes around Puget Sound, the governor arranged for a council on the Chehalis River just above Grays Harbor, and there, on February 25, 1855, he met the representatives of those river and coast tribes. All seemed to be prospering until Carcowan, the old chief of the Chehalis tribe, smuggled in some liquor against the strict orders of the governor. The chief appeared before the governor in a state of drunkenness. He was arrested and placed under guard. The next day his son Tleyuk, himself one of the most influential chiefs, rebelled. He would consent to the treaty if the reservation should be on his lands, and if he were recognized as head chief of the five tribes. Failing in this, he made a speech against the treaty and against white men's ways in general. The governor counseled with Tleyuk and the other chiefs, but the young man was insolent and during the night his people made a great uproar of shouting and firing guns. Among the guests of the governor on this occasion was James G. Swan, then of Willapa Harbor, later of Port Townsend, one of the best known of early pioneers. He gives an interesting account of these transactions, including: "We did not care a pin for their braggadocio, but the governor did; and the next morning, when the camp was called, he gave Tleyuk a severe reprimand, and taking from him his paper which had been given him as chief, he tore it in pieces before the assemblage. Tleyuk felt this disgrace very keenly, but said nothing. The paper was to him of great importance, for they all look on a printed or written document as possessing some wonderful charm. The governor then informed them that, as all would not sign the treaty, it was of no effect, and the camp was then broken up." [1]

That work was not wholly lost, for Special Indian Agent

[1] James G. Swan, "The Northwest Coast or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory" (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1857), p. 348. Before his death, Judge Swan again wrote the story, which appeared in the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, July 18, 1897.

M. T. Simmons, Colonel B. F. Shaw, and others went to the mouth of the Quinaielt River, and on July 1, 1855, concluded a treaty with the coast tribes north of Grays Harbor. Part of these Indians were at the unfortunate Chehalis council, and had there heard the treaty explained. When Governor Stevens returned to Olympia, he signed and approved this treaty on January 25, 1856. It is the only one of the treaties that has two dates. It was ratified on March 8, 1859. Among the thirty-one Indian signers were Tah-ho-lah, head chief of the Quinaielts, and How-yat'l, head chief of the Quillayutes.[1]

On April 30, 1857, Governor Stevens sent to George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a map showing the distribution of the Indians of Washington Territory. On the map are marginal notes giving statistics. One of these in the governor's handwriting is as follows: —

"Total number of Indians west of the Cascade Mountains . 9,712
Total number of Indians east of the Cascade Mountains . 12,000
Total number of Indians, Territory of Washington . . . 21,712
Treaties have been made with 17,497
Treaties remain to be made with 4,215."[2]

One effect of these treaties was to quiet the Indian title to one hundred thousand square miles of land, making it possible for white settlers to acquire homes without a bargain or a quarrel with savage owners or claimants.

After concluding the treaties and while the war was on, Governor Stevens addressed the Legislature on January 21, 1856, making the following reference to the treaties: "Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly, it is due to you that I should enter dispassionately and fully into the policy which has marked the government in the making of treaties with the Indians of this Territory. It is important that the honor and dignity of that government should be sustained. That its course should be characterized by humanity and

[1] In 1905, the present writer found the chief of the Quinaielts to be Tah-ho-lah or "Captain Mason." Among the most precious possessions he showed was the chief's paper Governor Stevens had given his father half a century before.

[2] Hazard Stevens, "Life of Isaac I. Stevens," Vol. II, p. 504.



justice. Those who have done their duty, and maintained the dignity and honor of the country, should not be struck down. Let the blow be struck in the right quarter. If dignity and honor have been maintained, then has no citizen anything to blush for, and it is a bright page in the history of the country, and dear to every citizen." [1]

[1] House Journal, Washington Territory, 1855–1856 (Olympia, Geo. B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855 [6]), pp. 155–156.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BLOCKHOUSE ERA, 1855

It has already been stated that the treaty making was one of the contributing causes of the war that broke out before those pacts of peace were finished. While this is acknowledged, it must always be borne in mind that the treaties were deemed essential by the government and the people at that time. The Indians were relatively few on an enormous area of good lands. The white men were coming with their institutions to occupy those lands. It was inevitable that there should be a clash when civilization and savagery met. What better policy could have been suggested than to treat with the Indians, buy their lands, reserve them ample homes, and freely give them teachers, farmers, carpenters, and physicians to prepare them for the overwhelming changes fast approaching? Believing this to be the very best policy, the government adopted it and placed upon Governor Stevens the duty of putting it into effect in Washington Territory. With rare qualities of patience, courage, skill, and industry was that duty performed. George Gibbs was a skilled ethnologist and a generally well-educated man. At first he was the friend and associate of Governor Stevens, but later became an abusive opponent. In a letter to James G. Swan,[1] dated January 7, 1857, he gives a lucid set of causes for the war, not omitting to refer disparagingly to the treaties he had helped to make. He shows that the great Chief Kamiakin of the Yakimas had always opposed the intrusion of the white men, and as early as 1853 had projected a war of extermination which was thwarted by the precautionary measures of Major Alvord at The Dalles. In 1854, Indian Agent

[1] Published in Swan's book, cited above, pp. 425–429.



Bolon learned that a council had been held in the Grande Ronde, where several tribes planned another war against the white people. Even Chief Lawyer acknowledged to Agent Bolon that the Nez Percés were divided in opinion. It has already been shown that they became of one opinion of friendliness during the next year when the treaty was made. The Indians who occupied the upper reaches of the Snoqualmie, Cedar, Green, White, Puyallup, Nisqually, and Cowlitz rivers were all related to the Yakimas and Klickitats, east of the Cascades. The Gibbs letter says: "Leshchi, one of the Nisqually chiefs, was a Yakima by the mother's side, and related, I think, to Owhai. He has always been a busy intriguer and a great traveler, and was the principal agent in the matter on the Sound side." Indian women who were living with white men told their husbands to look out for trouble. In July, 1855, Patkanim, chief of the Snoqualmies, asked Mr. Gibbs to interpret for him in making a talk to the white men at Fort Steilacoom. He said there was going to be war, but he would keep his own people neutral at their Snoqualmie homes. Passing through Seattle on his way home, he made a similar statement to Arthur A. Denny, adding that he was going into the mountains on a hunting trip. This last information proved important later.

At Fort Vancouver Yah-ho-tow-it, a Klickitat sub-chief, told a similar story. He advised the white men to fill the forts at The Dalles, Vancouver, and Steilacoom with soldiers. Gold was discovered near Fort Colville, and miners hastened to prospect. This fresh, impetuous intrusion tended to fan into life the smoldering fires of war.

When the Indians sat upon the ground at the council of Walla Walla, they "were reclining on the bosom of their Great Mother Earth." The greatest objection they raised to the treaties was that they could not sell their Mother Earth. Even though they signed the treaties to sell the lands, they changed their minds and would try to kill the intruders and keep the white people away from their lands. In fact it has been stated that such warlike and determined chiefs as Kamiakin of the Yakimas, Looking-glass of the

Nez Percés, and Pio-pio-mox-mox of the Walla Wallas, finding that, through the help of the majority of the Nez Percés, the treaty making would be successful, concluded to sign also, but not in earnest, intending all the time to prepare for war.[1] Looking-glass accompanied Governor Stevens to the Blackfoot council, but on his return, a spy overheard him plotting with Spokane Garry a concerted attack on the governor's party when they should arrive near Lapwai. This was, of course, thwarted by the governor's tactics when warned of the danger. Most of the Nez Percés were held to the side of peace.

The Indians knew that the white men would always punish them for murders wherever it was possible. Yet one such case of punishment probably contributed a share toward the causes of the war. In 1854, some Snake Indians killed a number of immigrants. Major Haller went out with a command from The Dalles to punish them. He failed to find them, but while the treaty council of Walla Walla was drawing to a close, he again took the field, using the garrison of the peace council as part of his command. This time he captured and executed the murderers. While he was doing this, the surrounding tribes were sending and receiving emissaries in war councils.

In the address to the Legislature, already referred to, Governor Stevens reviewed the causes of the war, saying that it had been plotting for at least two or three years. He frankly avowed that he would not have held the Walla Walla council if he had known the real feelings of many of the Indians. He said: "It originated in the native intelligence of restless Indians, who, foreseeing destiny against them, that the white man was moving upon them, determined that it must be met and resisted by arms. We may sympathize with such a manly feeling, but in view of it, we have high duties." [2]

Notwithstanding the evidences of savage unrest, the rumor of impending war, the settlers of Puget Sound were enter-

[1] Statement by Father Joset in manuscript by Mrs. Rowena Nichols, cited by H. H. Bancroft, Works, Vol. XXXI, p. 105.
[2] House Journal, 1855–1856, p. 152.



prising and ambitious. In the summer of 1855, Judge Edward Lander, Arthur A. Denny, and Hillory Butler left Seattle to inspect the wagon road over the Cascade Mountains, hoping to find ways of improving it. At the first camp on Black River the party was overtaken by a messenger from Seattle calling them home with startling news. Earlier in the summer two parties of prospectors had crossed the mountains on their way to the Colville mines. The first party, consisting of O. M. Eaton and Joseph Fanjoy, disappeared. Months may have passed without such a disappearance exciting alarm if it had not been for the experience of the second party. This comprised L. O. Merilet, J. C. Avery, Eugene Barier, Charles Walker, and a Mr. Jamieson. Near Simcoe, in the Yakima Valley, Walker and Jamieson were shot down by the Indians. The others, somewhat in the rear, hid themselves, and by traveling at night and hiding during the day, they escaped, carrying the news of Indian hostility to Seattle. This tragedy may be taken as the opening of the war.

A. J. Bolon, special agent for the Yakimas, was a faithful officer and a fearless man. While going from The Dalles with Indian goods to meet Governor Stevens and help in making a treaty with the Spokanes, he met Chief Garry, who told him of the murder of the prospectors while passing through the country of the Yakimas. To show his wards that he was not afraid, but had full confidence in them, he went alone to confer with Chief Kamiakin. No news being received of Agent Bolon, Nathan Olney, Indian agent at The Dalles, sent a Des Chutes chief as spy to learn what had happened. The spy brought back a story of cruel treachery. Qualchin pretended to escort Agent Bolon on his homeward way after the interview with Chief Kamiakin. On the road he shot the unsuspecting white man in the back, cut his throat, killed the horse, and then tried to burn both bodies. Qualchin was the son of Chief Owhi, and the latter was the half-brother of Head Chief Kamiakin. To the Des Chutes spy, Kamiakin did not disclaim responsibility of his nephew's crime, but he proceeded to boast how he was going to drive all the white

men from the country. The murder was precipitating his plan, however, for he wished to wait until ice in the Columbia would keep rescuers back.[1] Qualchin had secured three hundred pounds of powder at The Dalles, and he wished to be the one to start the war.

The death of Agent Bolon occurred on September 23, and when known, Major Rains ordered Major G. O. Haller to take eighty-four men and pass into the Yakima country to coöperate there with troops to be sent out from Fort Steilacoom across the mountains. He left The Dalles on October 3, and when crossing down the Simcoe Mountains into the Yakima Valley, his command was surprised by an overwhelming number of Indians. The troops had suffered to the extent of five killed and seventeen wounded. Major Haller retreated, conducting a running fight for three days. He spiked and buried the howitzer in the flight, and succeeded in reaching The Dalles without further mishap. The force sent from Fort Steilacoom on this expedition comprised fifty men under Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter. They crossed through the Naches Pass, but on hearing of Major Haller's defeat, Lieutenant Slaughter wisely retreated toward Fort Steilacoom. It is not known how heavily the Indians suffered in this campaign, but it is estimated that forty were killed.

While these events were transpiring in the Yakima country, the settlers on the west side of the mountains were uneasy over the restive and threatening attitude of the Indians. On the night of September 27, the house of A. L. Porter in the White River Valley was attacked. He had taken the precaution to sleep in the shelter of the nearby brush at night. Hearing the noise, he crept so close that he barely escaped capture. In the morning he spread the alarm and the settlers flocked into Seattle. During the absence of Governor Stevens, the Secretary of the Territory, Charles H. Mason, was acting governor. Receiving a report of the war scare in the White River country, Mason secured a guard from Fort Steilacoom consisting of Lieutenant Nugent and a squad of soldiers.

[1] George Gibbs, in Swan's "Northwest Coast," pp. 428–429.





P. H. Sheridan
Brevt 2d Lieutenant

GENERAL SHERIDAN AS A LIEUTENANT ABOUT THE TIME OF THE YAKIMA CAMPAIGN



They marched through the valley, and received from the Indians many protestations of friendliness. He went on to Seattle, and told the people they were frightened at nothing and ought to go back to their homes. Many did so. He also told Captain Isaac S. Sterrett, of the United States sloop-of-war *Decatur*, then in Seattle harbor, that the scare was founded only in fear. Captain Sterrett decided to move on, but the citizens of Seattle seemed so sure of their danger he decided to wait and see for himself. Acting Governor Mason was only twenty-five years of age, and acknowledged that he felt the responsibility of his position to be beyond his capacity. Yet his energy and earnestness later redeemed the mistake of relying on the promises of good behavior on the part of those plotting savages.

Major Haller's defeat caused Major Rains to call out what troops he could secure from Forts Steilacoom and Vancouver, requesting also volunteer companies from the governors of Oregon and Washington. The response was spontaneous, and on October 30, Major Rains started for the Yakima country with a force of seven hundred regulars and volunteers. With him was Colonel J. W. Nesmith (afterward United States senator from Oregon) with Oregon volunteers well mounted. With him also was Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan in command of a company of dragoons. Years afterward this beloved American soldier wrote: "They little thought, when we were in the mountains of California and Oregon, — nor did I myself then dream, — that but a few years were to elapse before it would be my lot to command dragoons, this time in numbers so vast as of themselves to compose almost an army."[1] Sheridan is very sarcastic in his record of this campaign under Major Rains, who, he says, "by some hocus-pocus had been made a brigadier-general, under an appointment from the governor of Washington Territory." With only a little scattered skirmishing, they marched through the Yakima country to the Catholic mission on

[1] P. H. Sheridan, "Personal Memoirs" (New York, Charles L. Webster and Company, 1888), Vol. I, pp. 94–95.

the Ahtanum. Sheridan and Nesmith were sent to find and possibly relieve the command of Captain Maurice Maloney from Fort Steilacoom, who might be surrounded in Naches Pass. They traveled until blocked by the depth of snow, and rightly concluded that that was the cause of the non-arrival of the troops from the west. Maloney, with regulars, and Captain Gilmore Hays, with volunteers, had started from Fort Steilacoom for the Yakima country, but were turned back by the depth of snow in the mountains. Rains and his command returned to The Dalles, and the campaign in the Yakima country was ended for that year.

In the meantime the treachery of the west-side Indians was given a horrible manifestation. Those settlers who had followed Acting Governor Mason's advice and returned to their homes were cruelly massacred on the morning of Sunday, October 28, 1855. William H. Brannan, his wife, and child, Harry N. Jones and wife, George E. King and wife, and Enos Cooper were killed. An infant child of the King family was never heard of, and the settlers could not determine whether it had been carried away or was killed and burned in the house. The bodies of some of the victims were thrown into the wells. The Indians had craftily waited until Captain Maloney had moved out of the valley with his troops to join in the Yakima expedition. Two incidents of Indian kindness should here be recorded. Chief Kitsap, the elder, for whom Kitsap County was afterwards named, gave warning to the settlers in the Puyallup Valley. They escaped during the night, while the Indians were waiting for daylight to murder them. Old Tom, who still lives on the Muckilshoot Reservation, saved three children of the Jones family and carried them under a bearskin in his canoe, paddling stealthily at night, down the river to Seattle where they were given over to the white people.[1]

[1] One of these children has survived, Doctor John King of Berg Hill, Ohio, stepson of H. N. Jones. When he heard the old Indian who saved his life was still living, he sent him a fine letter. This Old Tom proudly exhibited to the writer in the summer of 1905. A copy was secured. It tells a pathetic story of the murders and the rescue.



Lieutenant Slaughter reported that he was being followed by Chief Patkanim and a band of his Snoqualmies. Orders were thereupon sent to the officers of the *Decatur* to seize some of the chief's relatives among the friendly Indians at Seattle to be held as hostages. To this, Mr. Denny earnestly objected. He promised to stand sponsor for the friendliness of that band, and would himself go to the mountains and bring him. The officers prevented Mr. Denny's running such a risk, but a messenger was sent under his direction. In the time specified, the messenger returned with the chief, bringing in a large supply of venison and skins. This was ample proof, and later Patkanim and a troop of his braves were mustered into service on the side of the white men. His pay was to be measured by a grewsome standard. For the head of each hostile warrior he would receive a bounty of $20, and for the head of each chief four times that sum. The heads were to be sent to the sloop-of-war *Decatur*, whose officers were to send them to Olympia for record. Mrs. Margaret Brown Buzby said that among her pioneer neighbors on Whidby Island it was understood at the time that when Patkanim found the business of taking enemies' heads dull, he killed his own slaves to increase his bounty. Lieutenant Phelps of the *Decatur* has left the record that "several invoices of these ghastly trophies were received and sent to their destination."[1] The same officer's record states that Patkanim and a band of his people went to Olympia after the fighting was over, and on April 3, 1856, a fleet of twenty-five canoes was seen rounding Alki Point and approaching the *Decatur* in Seattle harbor, "and as the occupants were decked in gala costume, with clean faces, we were at a loss to account for the unusual display until Pat Canim came over the gangway, arrayed in citizen's garb, including Congress gaiters, white kid gloves, and a white shirt, with standing collar reaching halfway up to his ears, and the whole finished off with a flaming red necktie."

Acting Governor Mason on November 1, 1855, sent to

[1] Rear-admiral T. S. Phelps, "Reminiscences of Seattle" (*The United Service Magazine*, New York, November, 1902), p. 499.

Sir James Douglas, then provincial governor and representing the Hudson Bay Company at Victoria, requesting arms and ammunition. The reply was swift and effective. Fifty stands of arms and quantities of ammunition were sent, Mr. Douglas regretting that their steamers, *Beaver* and *Otter*, were not in harbor or he would send them also. Later the *Otter* did render efficient service. This help was all the more potent because it demonstrated to the Indians how futile was their thought that the "King George men" would help them drive the "Bostons" from the country.

On the day that Old Tom brought the three children survivors of the White River massacre into Seattle, Captain C. C. Hewitt left with his company of volunteers to visit the scene, to bury the dead, and rescue any of the living that may have remained in hiding. In the following month of November the same company was ordered into the White River Valley to coöperate with regular troops from Fort Steilacoom. This latter force was sent out under Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter. On November 25, his command was attacked in a dense fog by Indians led by Chiefs Kitsap and Kanascut of the Klickitats, Quiemuth and Klowowit of the Nisquallies, and Nelson of the Green River Indians. One soldier was killed and forty horses lost. On December 4, Lieutenant Slaughter and Captain Hewitt held a conference in a log-cabin near the junction of White and Green rivers. The soldiers built a fire to dry their clothing. The fire drew the lurking savages, one of whose bullets found the heart of Lieutenant Slaughter, who died without uttering a word. Later a town grew up at that place and was named Slaughter, after the brave and gallant officer whose loss was sincerely mourned by the pioneers. When the town grew, the new citizens changed its name to Auburn, much to the disgust of the old settlers.[1]

[1] The present writer was honored with a seat in the Legislature when that change of name was enacted. He reluctantly withdrew his opposition to the measure when the representative of the citizens, a fat banker wearing a large gold watch charm, said: "We don't like it when the hotel boy goes to the train and calls out: 'Right this way to the Slaughter House!' It scares away the people." He prom-



The year 1855, as it drew to a close, saw the Territory of Washington enshrouded in gloom. It was not known how many Indians had suffered. They always managed to conceal their dead and rescue their wounded. But it was known that a considerable number of white people had lost their lives, many others had lost their homes. The survivors collected into blockhouses for mutual protection. The Indians gave continuous evidence of their presence. The young acting governor did the best he could, and most of the settlers responded nobly to his earnest lead. Food was growing scarce, ordinary business was out of the question, starvation, flight, or the tomahawk seemed the only alternatives. This was the condition of discouragement that welcomed Governor Stevens on his return from that mission of peace to the Blackfoot and other tribes in the mountains.

When messenger Pearson made his remarkable ride through many dangers to the governor's camp, he carried the awful news of the Indian outbreak. The governor's courage did not waver an instant. Though the Cœur d'Alenes and Spokanes were known to be wavering toward war, he boldly rode into their camps and took them by surprise. As already related, he obtained an escort of friendly Nez Percés, and proceeded to Walla Walla, where he met the Oregon volunteers under Lieutenant-colonel James K. Kelly and Major M. A. Chinn. They had been victorious, but part of the victory seems clouded when looking back to it through half a century of years. Chief Pio-pio-mox-mox, with a band of warriors, approached the volunteers under a flag of truce. There may have been good reason for it, but at any rate the white flag was not respected. The Indians were seized and held as prisoners. Then the troops were attacked, the prisoners tried to escape and were promptly killed. Four days of skirmishing followed, when Colonel Kelly returned to his home as a hero. Thomas R. Cornelius had been elected colonel to take command.

ised that the town would erect a monument to the memory of Lieutenant Slaughter. The banker left Auburn under a cloud. His promise is still unfulfilled.

Among those Oregon volunteers was Benjamin Franklin Shaw of Vancouver, who brought Governor Stevens information about a very singular and very unfortunate transaction of recent date. Major-general John E. Wool, a Mexican War veteran, in command of the army on the Pacific coast, with headquarters in San Francisco, was then in Oregon. He disbanded two companies of volunteers about to be sent to the relief of Governor Stevens. Then Shaw mustered a company at Vancouver for that particular purpose, and it also was promptly disbanded. It was then that Governor Curry, of Oregon, acted by sending the volunteers who cleared the way of Pio-pio-mox-mox and his bloodthirsty braves. The governor must have been shocked at this remarkable show of opposition on the part of General Wool. As an ordinary citizen he was entitled to more consideration than that. On the journey to the Blackfoot council he was the representative of the President of the United States. Most assuredly such an officer should not have his own life and the lives of his associates deliberately jeopardized. However, the governor smothered his indignation and hurried on to meet the general. He prepared a careful memoir, pointing out how, in his judgment, the volunteers and regular troops could best cooperate to crush the Indian uprising. From The Dalles he hastened to Vancouver and then to Portland, only to find that General Wool had sailed for San Francisco the day before. The governor then made all possible haste to reach Olympia without further delay, arriving there on January 19, 1856, when he was received with a salute of thirty-eight guns.

Later developments disclosed the facts that General Wool had left orders for the officers under him to refrain from all coöperation with the volunteers, and in fact, if found possible, to disarm them and drive them out of the Indian country. He said the Indians were abused, the white man should stay out of their country, and the Cascade Range was the correct and natural boundary between the two races. When urged by his own officers to allow the volunteers to go to the rescue of the Blackfoot com-



mission, he retorted that Governor Stevens could look out for himself and could flee for safety by way of St. Louis and New York. As the case developed, a peppery correspondence passed between the governor and the general. That correspondence was later demanded by the Legislature of Washington Territory and published.[1] The book is a most valuable collection of historical documents. The direct, forceful, convincing letters of Governor Stevens, the weak, evasive, and transparent letters of General Wool make a most pitiful spectacle of a man holding high military command. The Oregon Legislature in its session of 1856–1857 adopted a petition which resulted in the recall of General Wool from the command of the Pacific coast. An unmanly, undignified cause for this miserable show of spleen on the part of a man who previously had earned the gratitude of the government for valiant services, is found in the fact that Governor Stevens had offered him a rebuke in April, 1854. General Wool had claimed the credit for the victory of Buena Vista in the Mexican War when Governor Stevens reminded him that General Taylor was in chief command there. From that hour Wool hated Stevens. He charged him with being the cause of the Indian war, sent newspaper criticisms of him to Washington City, prevented the ratification of the Indian treaties, and sought to thwart him in every possible way. On leaving the Columbia River he placed Colonel George Wright in command there. At sea he met Lieutenant-colonel Silas Casey with part of the Ninth Infantry. These he directed to Fort Steilacoom. In March, 1856, he was on Puget Sound. He did not notify the governor of his presence, but Governor Stevens sent an officer to arrange a meeting for coöperation. General Wool had hurried on his journey before the messenger reached him.

Governor Stevens was the central figure of the war.

[1] Message of the Governor of Washington Territory; also, the Correspondence with the Secretary of War, Major General Wool, the Officers of the Regular Army, and of the Volunteer Service of Washington Territory" (Olympia, Edward Furste, Public Printer, 1857), pp. 1–406.

In his own person the quality of courage bordered on rashness. He seemed destitute of fear. His decisions were impetuous and firm as granite. A careful survey of the evidence conveys the conviction that he was governed by a singleness of unselfish purpose and that he possessed an unsullied character, the brightest adornment of which was a lofty and steadfast patriotism. His promptness and vigor raised up enemies and opponents, but we shall see how all their scheming failed to do him or his cause any real or lasting injury. A large majority of the citizens gave him hearty and loyal support, and fully recognized the purity of his motives at each stage of the conflict. One amusing bit of evidence along this line is a cartoon made by Lieutenant George H. Derby, who, under the pen-name of John Phœnix, was famous and beloved as the humorist of the United States army. He was stationed at Fort Vancouver in June, 1856, when Governor Stevens summarily dismissed a quartermaster for dishonest conduct. The cartoon shows a man being kicked into the street from the "Quartermaster's Office." Two roughly clad frontiersmen witness the incident. Under the picture is this conversation: —

"*First Pike.* That's pretty rough, Bill, yanking a man out of office like that, without giving him ary show or trial.

"*Second Pike.* Well, the governor's generally about right, and he's dead right this time, you bet."

Arthur A. Denny, just before his death, said to the present writer: "Governor Stevens was a Democrat and I was a Whig. There were many strong differences between us. But Governor Stevens gave his life for his country, and now I have nothing but respect for his memory."



CHAPTER XX

CRUSHING THE INDIAN REVOLT, 1856

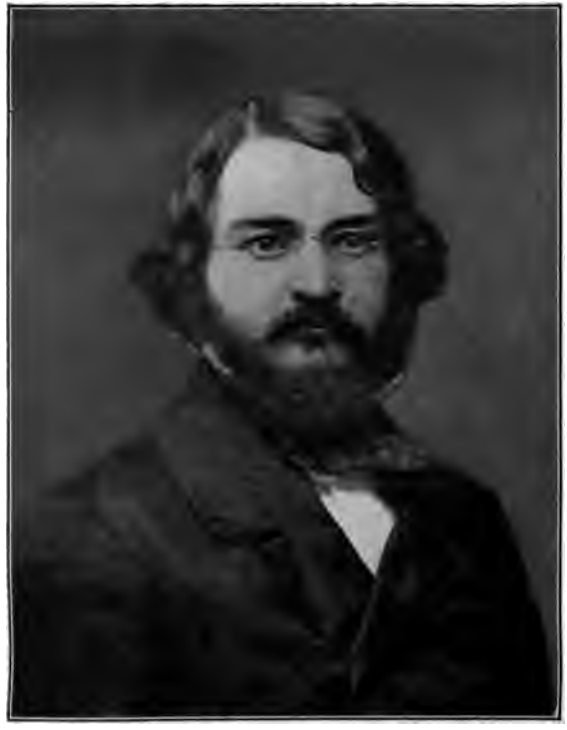
On arriving at Olympia, January 19, 1856, Governor Stevens threw himself into the task of dispelling the gloom and of regaining the lost ground. The volunteer service was reorganized, and efforts were renewed to bring about full coöperation with the regular troops. In the meantime there was impending the battle of Seattle, one of the most severe engagements of the war. After the White River massacre, the citizens in Seattle erected a blockhouse fort, at the foot of the present Cherry Street, out of timbers obtained from Henry L. Yesler's sawmill. The *Decatur* still remained in the harbor, though under a new commander. Captain Sterrett had been relieved on December 10, 1855, and was dismissed from the service on charges which a subsequent trial found groundless, whereupon he was reinstated to his position in the United States navy. The new commander of the *Decatur* was Captain Guert Gansevoort. The friendly Indians, to the number of about five thousand, had been gathered into camps on the west side of Puget Sound, where special agents cared for them. At Seattle there was encamped a number of friendly Indians some of whom were at times suspected of being inclined toward joining the hostiles. Friendly Indians brought news of the approach of a large number of hostile Indians by way of a trail through the woods from Lake Washington. Just how this news was received is unsettled. Mr. Denny, in his little book of reminiscences, mentions no definite source. Thomas W. Prosch, in his life of Mrs. Catherine T. Maynard,[1] says that

[1] Thomas W. Prosch, "David S. Maynard and Catherine T. Maynard," biographies of two of the Oregon immigrants of 1850 (Seattle, Lowman and Hanford Stationery and Printing Company, 1906), pp. 73–77.

she made a perilous canoe ride with Indians at night, and carried the news to Captain Gansevoort from Ole-man House (Port Madison), where Chief Seattle remained in camp with his friendly people. Henry L. Yesler, a prominent citizen from the first, says the legend crediting a similar night ride to Chief Seattle's daughter Angeline, is without foundation.[1] He gives the full credit to Indian Curly. Lieutenant Phelps makes out a strong case of real hostility on the part of Curly and gives Cultus Jim the honor of sounding the note of warning that saved the town. The one thing certain is that the approach of the enemy must have been made known through Indian carriers from the lake shore to Indians on the sound, and from them the dread report reached the defenders of the town.

During the night of January 25, 1856, the *Decatur's* men remained on guard, and returned to the sloop for breakfast when another alarm was sounded. Captain Gansevoort told Mr. Yesler that he would rather answer twenty false alarms than be caught napping once. He ordered the breakfastless men ashore and taking a howitzer dropped a shot where the Indians were reported to be in hiding. A terrific volley in reply showed the alarm not to be a false one. The battle raged from that early hour until ten o'clock at night, when Lieutenant Phelps declares the last gun of the batte of Seattle was fired. The Indians were repulsed. The town was saved. But two white men were killed, Milton G. Holgate, a young man, who was shot down while standing in the door of the blockhouse, and Robert Wilson, who was killed near the southern end of the defenses. It is not known how many Indians were killed or injured. Chief Coquilton was assisted by Chief Leschi of the Nisquallies and Chief Owhi, the Klickitat. After destroying Seattle, the Indians intended to march to Fort Steilacoom, and upon capturing the ammunition and stores there, they could easily kill or drive away the other settlers. When driven away from Seattle, the

[1] Henry L. Yesler, "The Daughter of Old Chief Seattle" (*Washington Magazine*, November, 1889), pp. 25–27.



CHARLES H. MASON
First Secretary and Acting Governor of the Territory



FAYETTE MCMULLIN
1857–1859
Second Governor of Washington Territory







warriors sent back a defiant message that they would return in "one more moon" with men enough to capture the place in spite of the ship and her guns. A strong stockade was built between the two blockhouses, and preparations completed to resist the threatened assault, but the punishment at Seattle had been severe enough to scatter the assembled warriors into small bands looking for food and shelter.

The aggressive policy of the governor did not provide any room for a bivouac. The Indians had been restless before the outbreak, they found now that the scouts and soldiers did not stop for snows, rains, rivers, or fires, but kept up a continuous, dogged pursuit over every known trail and, too, over many hidden Indian trails never known until the keen woodsmen-soldiers were combing the forests for enemies. Hazard Stevens tells how the volunteers responded to this strenuous service: "Amid constant rains and swollen streams the volunteers thridded the dripping forests, where every shaken bough drenched the toiling soldiers with shower-bath, following some dim trail, or oftener cutting or forcing their way through the trackless woods, — heavy packs of blankets and rations on their backs, the ax in one hand and the rifle in the other. Scarcely would they return from one scout when they would be ordered out again. To every demand the volunteers responded with the greatest alacrity, spirit, and fortitude. The mounted men without a murmur left their horses and took to the woods as foot scouts." [1]

In February, Lieutenant-colonel Casey arrived at Fort Steilacoom with two companies. He promptly took the field in the White River country, following Captain Maloney, who had advanced there with about one hundred and twenty-five men. Two companies of volunteers had also advanced in the same direction, establishing depots at Yelm and Montgomery and building a blockhouse and ferry at the Puyallup River crossing. Governor Stevens here took the field in person, but was quickly recalled to Olympia by the reports of scattered Indian murders south

[1] "Life of Isaac I. Stevens," Vol. II, p. 189.

of Steilacoom. The outrages on farmers, women, and children were being perpetrated by about fifty warriors under Chiefs Stahi and Quiemuth. On March 4, while Lieutenant Kautz, with a detachment of regulars, was opening a road from the Puyallup River to Muckilshoot Prairie, the command was attacked by Indians in force. Hiding behind fallen timber, they held their ground until reënforcements arrived. One soldier was killed, and nine were wounded, including Lieutenant Kautz. On March 8 occurred the stubborn engagement known as the battle of Connell's Prairie. Two small companies of volunteers were sent to the White River crossing to build a blockhouse and ferry. They soon encountered a force of one hundred and fifty warriors, who attacked them savagely. The volunteers found shelter among the trees and logs. Help speedily arrived. From camp it could be seen that the Indians were flanking the soldiers, and more help was sent. In turn the Indians were flanked, and part of them were driven through a swamp in their flight. The volunteers charged and put the entire army of Indians to flight, after they had lost about thirty killed and many wounded. The volunteers did not lose a man, and but four were wounded. The Indians outnumbered the white men at least two to one. They had chosen the ground and commenced the fight, but were completely beaten. The volunteers were greatly encouraged, for it was the first time they had met the enemy in the open, and that was the last time the Indians fought in force on the west side of the Cascades. During the rest of the war they moved in smaller bands, and swooped down at unexpected places.

The Oregon volunteers left in the Walla Walla Valley were recruited by new enlistments, and on March 9, Colonel Cornelius started in search of the enemy over the very ground recommended by Governor Stevens in his memoir to General Wool. With his command of six hundred he marched north to the Snake River, then to the Palouse, and from there to Priest Rapids on the Columbia. Arriving at the mouth of the Yakima, he prepared to march through the country of Chief Kamiakin, when he received



the report of an attack by the Yakimas at the Cascades.

All winter Colonel George Wright had been preparing for an expedition among the Indians. Early in March he had taken all but three companies and left Vancouver. He had moved on past The Dalles before being recalled by the disaster at the Cascades, when he hastened back with two hundred and fifty of his men.

The gateway by which the Columbia River rushes through the Cascade Mountains has a bench along the north bank of the river. The settlements there were called by the general term "The Cascades," sometimes more definitely designated by the addition of the words "upper," "lower," and "middle." Along this bench all the troops and supplies for the interior must be transported past the obstructions in the river. It is easy now to see that Colonel Wright made a serious mistake when he left that important place to be guarded by eight soldiers, commanded by Sergeant Matthew Kelly, stationed in the blockhouse fort at the Middle Cascades. The mistake was greatly increased by General Wool, who arrived at Vancouver in March, and finding that Colonel Wright had left three companies at Vancouver, sent two of the companies north to Fort Steilacoom.

The Indians seem to have been watching for just such an opportunity. Early on the morning of March 26, the settlers at the Upper Cascades, while peacefully at work, were suddenly assailed by a rain of bullets from the bushes, followed by stunning war-cries. B. W. Brown, his wife, and her young brother were killed, scalped, and thrown into the river. Men at work on a bridge and some of the settlers, a total of forty, took refuge in Bradford's log-cabin store, where they found stored some rifles and ammunition. The store became a fort and successfully withstood a siege. The crew of the little steamer *Mary* had just started for the boat when the attack was made, and yet they managed to save the boat and start for The Dalles to bring help, but they had to fight for it. James Linsay, the fireman, was shot through the shoulder. The colored

cook was also wounded when he jumped into the river, and was drowned. Two revolvers on board allowed the brave fellows to fight off the savages until the fires were started and the boat pushed out into the stream.

At the same time an attack was made at the Middle Cascades. The little garrison of nine men rendered magnificent service. Soon all the settlers left alive in that neighborhood were gathered into the fort. Three of the soldiers made a sortie to a neighboring building for provisions. Rifles were kept busy, and as often as the Indians gathered in force the cannon's fire dispersed them. The settlers at the Lower Cascades received warning in time to push off in boats and make their way down the river toward Vancouver.

It was supposed that Vancouver would be attacked as soon as the Cascades settlements were wiped out. There was not enough force left to properly guard the place, and yet help must be sent at once to the besieged at the Cascades. Early on March 27, the steamboat *Belle* left with a detachment of Vancouver's one company in command of Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan. On the way they picked up the men fleeing from the Lower Cascades, who went back to help guard the place. Landing, Sheridan found his narrow path blocked by a strong force of well-armed Indians. A bullet grazed his own nose and struck a soldier at his side, killing him instantly. The steamboat had been sent back for more help, and Sheridan used a bateau to pass his command over the river in order to reach the beleaguered blockhouse by dragging the boat up the lea of an island.

Those besieged in Bradford's store were in despair, and had agreed to throw themselves into a scow and risk going over the rapids when the welcome whistles of the approaching steamers from The Dalles were heard. Colonel Wright's soldiers at once beat the bushes for Indians, but all had fled. He then dispatched a force under Lieutenant-colonel E. J. Steptoe to relieve those in the Middle blockhouse. Just as Sheridan was about to surprise a number of Indians, a bugle call from Steptoe's troops caused the



enemy there to vanish as at the upper landing. The brave garrison under Sergeant Kelly had saved the day until help had come.[1]

Sheridan crossed to the island and, marching to the lower end, found, as he expected, all the Indians, men, women, and children, whose homes were at the Cascades. When the battle had gone against them, the Yakimas deserted these allies and fled to the mountains. The men protested that the attacks had been made and the murders committed by the Yakimas. They were innocent. Sheridan did not believe this, so he lined the men up with their muskets in their hands. Walking up to the first one, he accused him of being guilty, but received a vigorous denial. He then thrust his finger in the muzzle of the gun, and found it black with freshly burned powder. The Indian was silenced. The same evidence was found against the others. Thirteen were arrested and placed under guard. The next day Colonel Wright had them tried by a military commission, and nine of them were hanged.

Before leaving the Cascades, Sheridan was met by Joe Meek, the famous frontiersman of Oregon, who asked if he had seen anything of Chief Spencer's family who had passed down the river toward Vancouver. Spencer was a friendly chief who had gone out as guide with Colonel Wright. He had taken his family to visit relatives near The Dalles. Sheridan began a search, and found near a path the bodies of the mother, two youths, three girls, and a baby, all strangled with bits of rope except the baby, who had been choked to death with a silk handkerchief, probably taken from the mother's head. "In my experience," said General Sheridan, "I have been obliged to look upon many cruel scenes in connection with Indian warfare on the Plains since that day, but the effect of this dastardly and revolting crime has never been effaced from my memory." [2] Sheridan thought the crime must have been

[1] In 1901, the writer had the pleasure of hearing an account of this defense from Sergeant Robert Williams at Vancouver. He was the last survivor of that garrison of nine men.

[2] P. H. Sheridan, "Memoirs," Vol. I, p. 88.

committed by men whose families had been massacred, and in their blind thirst for revenge they strangled these innocent members of a friendly chief's family.

Soon after the battle of the Cascades, Governor Stevens was compelled to face a new element of danger and trouble on Puget Sound. It was found that the marauding bands of Indians were making attacks near Steilacoom, and then successfully eluding the scouts on every occasion. All the time a few white men living with Indian wives were unmolested. Suspicion naturally fell upon these men as being in collusion with the hostiles. They were ordered into the settlements or blockhouses. Refusing to obey this order, they were arrested. Designing lawyers sought their release under writs of habeas corpus. Judge Chenoweth was ill, so Judge Edward Lander left, without leave, his command of the volunteer company at Seattle, and went to Steilacoom to open court in defiance of the governor's proclamation declaring, on April 3, Pierce County to be under martial law. The governor then sent Lieutenant-colonel Shaw, with a file of soldiers, who arrested the judge and the clerk of the court, and took them to Olympia as prisoners. As the time approached for Judge Lander to open a regular term of court at Olympia, the governor, on May 13, declared Thurston County under martial law. The five suspected settlers — Charles Wren, Sandy Smith, John McLeod, Henry Smith, and John McField, all former employees of the Hudson Bay Company — were now released, on giving their paroles that they would remain in Steilacoom, except two, Wren and McLeod, who were sent to Fort Montgomery for trial by a military court. Judge Lander opened his court on May 14, and the next day ordered the arrest of Governor Stevens for contempt of court. United States Marshal George W. Corliss, with a posse, weakened when he found himself face to face with the cool but determined governor. A force of mounted volunteers entered Olympia soon after, when Judge Lander at once adjourned court and took refuge in Elwood Evans' law office. Captain Bluford Miller found the door locked. He exclaimed, "I'll add a new letter to the alphabet: let



JUDGE EDWARD LANDER

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her rip." He kicked in the door and arrested Judge Lander, who was sent to Camp Montgomery, where he was "held in honorable custody until the war on the Sound was practically over." When Judge Lander opened his regular term of court in July, the governor appeared by counsel and was fined $50 for contempt of court. His son's biography says he promptly paid the fine, but the late Henry G. Struve found a remarkable document at Olympia by which Isaac I. Stevens as governor pardoned Isaac I. Stevens convicted of contempt of court. The document, with other valuable historical papers, was lost in the great Seattle fire, 1889.

" By a letter of the Secretary of State, dated September 12, Governor Stevens was informed that the President, while having no doubt of the purity of his motives, disapproved his action in proclaiming martial law." [1]

Some of the citizens opposed martial law, and adopted extravagant resolutions against the governor. These were sent to Washington City to injure the standing of the governor. The martial law proclamations were revoked on May 24. In his message to the Legislature in 1857 Governor Stevens justified his course by showing that after those settlers were removed from their claims the Indians were repeatedly struck and prevented from rallying. The action of the courts demanded prompt action on his part. "I refer to the so-called neutrals in the war," said he, "who remained on their claims unmolested, when our patriotic citizens were compelled to live in blockhouses. There is no such thing in my humble judgment as neutrality in an Indian war, and whoever can remain on his claim unmolested, is an ally of the enemy, and must be dealt with as such." [2]

When Colonel Cornelius, with his Oregon volunteers, heard of the work of the Yakimas at the Cascades, and that Colonel Wright was about to invade the Yakima country

[1] Hazard Stevens, "Life of Isaac I. Stevens," Vol. II, p. 250.
[2] "Message and War Correspondence," p. 5.

with a strong force of regulars, he fell back to Walla Walla, and in May his command was disbanded at The Dalles. Colonel Wright, moving into the Yakima country with five companies of troops, met the hostiles on the Naches River. Instead of attacking, he spent a week in futile parleying, and then sent for reënforcements. Governor Stevens sought to coöperate with Lieutenant-colonel Casey in sending troops over the mountains to aid Wright. Casey obeyed the instructions of Wool in avoiding coöperation with the volunteers, and sent two companies under Major Garnett by the circuitous Columbia River route. Then the governor threw the responsibility of protecting the sound country on Casey and turned the blockhouses over to him. He then organized a command of mounted men under Lieutenant-colonel Shaw to march across the mountains. On June 20, Shaw found Wright again parleying for peace with the Yakimas. In the same camp were Chiefs Leschi, Kitsap, Stahi, Nelson, and Quiemuth, who had been driven from the west side. Wright still clung to the theory that the Indians had been wronged. His campaign resulted only in damage. He struck no blow, and the crafty Indian leaders ran off to other tribes to stir up more war. Colonel Wright awoke to his mistake two years later.

Colonel Shaw pushed on to Walla Walla. Governor Stevens went to The Dalles and sent on more troops to Shaw. Hearing that the hostiles had assembled in the Grande Ronde Valley, Shaw marched against them. The battle took place on July 17. Shaw, charging at the head of his command, drove the Indians fifteen miles. They killed forty Indians, captured their supplies and ammunition and more than two hundred horses and mules, many of which bore the brand of the United States. Shaw's loss was three killed and four wounded. Shaw returned to Walla Walla with his command. That defeat of the hostile Cayuses and Walla Wallas was peculiarly fortunate in point of time. Their leaders, coöperating with the shrewd Yakima chiefs, were preparing the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes, and even the stanch Nez Percés for a more general outbreak.



Governor Stevens knew one of the best ways to prevent that general movement was to occupy the Walla Walla Valley with an effective army and to keep the Nez Percés true by fair and good treatment. The terms of enlistment of Colonel Shaw's men were expiring, so two more companies of volunteers were called to take their places. The governor was not at all vindictive. In spite of all the snubbing, he continually tried to bring about a union of work between the regulars and volunteers. He again laid the whole matter before Colonel Wright and stated that, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he was ready to take charge of the Yakimas or any other tribes as soon as Colonel Wright pronounced them pacified. At the same time he produced evidence showing that the Yakima chiefs were still stirring up the wavering tribes. To check their schemes, he advised placing an army between them and the Nez Percés. He was going to summon another council of the Nez Percés, and would invite the chiefs of the hostile tribes to attend in an effort to make a lasting peace. He needed a military escort, and asked Colonel Wright to furnish it. He furthermore demanded that Colonel Wright turn over to him for trial the west-side chiefs who had fled across the mountains to Wright's Yakima camp. The colonel sent word to Major Garnett to seize those chiefs, but they escaped and returned to the west side of the mountains. Colonel Wright found other duties preventing his going with an escort for Stevens to the council, but he detailed four companies to go under Lieutenant-colonel Steptoe, assuring the governor that that officer would coöperate with him.

The council was a failure, largely through the fault of that poison of discord instilled by General Wool. The officers of the Fourth Infantry, like Alvord, Rains, Haller, Maloney, Slaughter, and Nugent, were on the ground when the war broke out. They sympathized and coöperated with the settlers. The officers of the Ninth Infantry, like Wright and Casey, sent north by General Wool, shared his prejudices until forced by hard experience to see the case in a different light. On August 19, 1856, the governor left The Dalles ahead of Steptoe's escort. He was accom-

panied by Messenger Pearson and the employees. The train consisted of thirty wagons drawn by eighty oxen, and they drove along two hundred loose animals. They reached Shaw's camp in safety on August 23. Five days later a small pack-train was captured by the Indians. The packers, after using all their ammunition, escaped on their horses. Captain D. A. Russell arrived from the Yakima country with three companies of regulars, but could not cross the Columbia River. The governor sent volunteers with a wagon boat, and ferried the command across. Steptoe then had four companies, and encamped four miles below the council grounds. The time of the volunteers would expire on September 8, so the governor sent them to The Dalles, with the exception of Captain Goff's company, which agreed to stand guard until relieved by the regulars. Chief Lawyer and most of the Nez Percé chiefs arrived on September 6, and encamped four miles above the council grounds. Father A. Ravalli, of the Cœur d'Alene Mission, arrived on September 8, and reported that he had seen the Yakima chiefs Kamiakin, Skloom, Owhi, and Qualchin, who refused to attend the council. The Spokanes likewise refused, as did Looking-glass, the disaffected Nez Percé. The Yakima leaders had left the recent parley with Wright's command in the Yakima Valley, and had traveled two hundred miles to stir up these other Indians against peace. A false alarm drew Colonel Shaw from the governor's camp, leaving but ten men as a guard. The governor repeatedly requested Colonel Steptoe to move his camp to the council ground so the Indians would see that they were mistaken in their idea that the regular troops represented a different power from the governor and his volunteers. Steptoe moved camp, and called on the governor while passing, and then proceeded above the council grounds eight miles. The governor then wrote Steptoe on September 13 that he had detained fifty men of Captain Goff's volunteers, but the force was too small in face of the real danger confronting them. He again requested one company of Steptoe's command as a guard. Steptoe replied that if there was danger of an outbreak, he did not



have men enough to guard both camps and asked the governor if he did not think it more reasonable that he should move his camp to the camp of the soldiers, concluding: "Nor can I detach any portion of it, in execution of certain instructions received from General Wool, while the Indian host remains so near to me." [1] Hearing that hostiles were approaching, the governor overlooked this affront and moved his camp to that of Steptoe's command. On the way they were met by the Yakimas, Kamiakin and Owhi, and a band of one hundred warriors led by Qualchin. On September 16 and 17, the attempt at making a peace continued. Hostile braves with rifles under their blankets attended, but were too closely watched by the volunteers to do any damage. When the governor concluded his council, Steptoe made a talk to the chiefs, saying he had come to them as a friend and would meet them the next day in council. The governor, with his small company of volunteers and about fifty friendly Nez Percés, started for The Dalles. The hostile chiefs, instead of accepting Steptoe's invitation for a council, set fire to his grass, and then chased the governor's party. The volunteers fought a running battle for a mile, until they came to water, where they parked the wagons and held their ground. The fight continued late into the night. One charge was made against the Indians with little effect, when the red-headed, raw-boned Shaw dashed at them with twenty-four men. He drove one hundred and fifty warriors, and then turning had to cut his way through an equal number that had swarmed to his rear. At night communications were opened with Steptoe, who was again requested to send a company to act as guard, but it was now Lieutenant-colonel Steptoe's turn to ask a favor. The Indians had burned his grass, and he wished the governor to return with his wagons and help him move camp to a place where he could have food for his horses. This request was brought by Lieutenant Davidson with detachments of dragoons and artillery with a mountain howitzer. The governor promptly assented,

[1] Cited by Hazard Stevens in "Life of Isaac I. Stevens," Vol. II, p. 218.

and by daylight was moving back to Steptoe's camp. where an Indian attack was being repulsed. At the governor's suggestion, a blockhouse fort was constructed on the Umatilla in two days. In one corner of the stockade a storeroom was built to hold the governor's Indian goods, In this fight the enemy consisted of disaffected Nez Percés, Yakimas, Palouses, Walla Wallas, and Umatillas. The leaders were Qualchin and Quiltomee. The latter was a brave fighter. He had two horses shot under him. At the council he had proudly exhibited to Governor Stevens a letter in which Colonel Wright acknowledged his valuable services in bringing about the so-called Yakima peace not many weeks before this fresh exhibition of his skill. Governor Stevens lost one man mortally wounded, and two were slightly wounded. He had about five hundred animals, not one of which was captured by the Indians. The Indians lost thirteen killed and wounded. There were four hundred and fifty Indians against the governor's force of one hundred and nineteen, including teamsters and employees.

Lieutenant-colonel Steptoe bore manly witness of the good conduct of the volunteers, and Colonel Wright forwarded the same to General Wool, but that officer declared that Governor Stevens had held the council on purpose to stir up hostility among the Indians. He ordered that the land be closed to all white men except missionaries and employees of the Hudson Bay Company. This was done by Lieutenant-colonel Steptoe in a proclamation. This proclamation was followed by Colonel Wright's councils with the chiefs who had so recently attacked his own men. He told them that "the bloody cloth should be washed, past differences thrown behind us, and perpetual friendship must exist between us." He and Steptoe moved to Mill Creek in the Walla Walla Valley, and built Fort Walla Walla, completing it by November 20. That fort has remained, with additions and improvements, to the present time, a beautiful city of the same name growing up by its side.



CHAPTER XXI

ECHOES OF THE INDIAN WAR, 1857-1858

TRAILS were poor and few at that time through the tangled undergrowth of the great coniferous forests. The inlets and harbors known by the general term Puget Sound were free and open highways, but they were almost destitute of facilities for rapid transit. Mention has been made of the Hudson Bay Company's steamers *Beaver* and *Otter*. Since the treaty of 1846 these were kept busy most of the time in the northern or British waters. In September, 1854, John H. Scranton's steamer, *Major Tompkins*, Captain James M. Hunt, arrived to ply between Olympia and Victoria. One of her first exploits was a vain chase of Indian murderers to Hood Canal, on which occasion the "Duke of York" was seized as hostage. This was the Indian about whom Theodore Winthrop has written his delightful chapter on "A Klalam Grandee," in which he exclaims, "Yes! I have kicked a king!" The Indians feared the swift errands of this "fire-ship," and were delighted to learn of her wreck at Esquimalt in February, 1855. At the time of the Indian outbreak the United States had on Puget Sound the revenue cutter *Jefferson Davis*, Captain William C. Peace, and the survey steamer *Active*, Commander James Alden. In September, 1855, the United States sloop-of-war *Decatur* anchored in Seattle harbor, where she rendered valuable service, as already related. On February 24, 1856, the officers of the *Decatur* were surprised by hearing a steady "thump, thump" approaching, and soon were cheered by the arrival of the United States steamer *Massachusetts*, Captain Samuel Swartwout, a boat destined to take a considerable part in subsequent events. A month after the appearance of the

Massachusetts, the United States steamer *John Hancock*, Commander David McDougall, arrived on Puget Sound. Inferior as these boats were in comparison with later equipments, they were towers of strength for the Puget Sound of that day, and went far to convince the Indians that their safest course lay in submission to and friendliness with the white race.

The fierce and dreaded Indians from the north, in their large war canoes, each carrying over fifty warriors, were prowling around Puget Sound seeking slaves and plunder. At one time it looked as though the hostiles would muster these dangerous bands as allies against the white settlements. When the steamer *Hancock* was at Port Townsend, she drove away sixty of these marauders, who left in a spirit ripe for revenge. The alarmed citizens appealed to the governor and to Captain Swartwout for protection. The *Massachusetts* found a large encampment at Port Gamble. Captain Swartwout tried to convince them that they must leave, and offered to tow their canoes to Victoria. The Indians had already committed a number of depredations, and the captain was firm in his purpose. Receiving defiant answers, he pressed into service Captain J. G. Parker's little passenger steamer *Traveler*, and placed her with a launch at the upper end of the encampment. He then sent early on the morning of October 20, 1856, Lieutenant Semmes with a flag of truce to again urge a peaceful departure of the band. These requests impressed the Indians as an indication of weakness, and they remained defiant. From the launch men waded through water breast-deep dragging a howitzer ashore. Again the Indians were asked to yield, but they simply taunted the men. An attack was ordered. The Indians fled to the forest for protection. Their canoes and provisions were destroyed. After two days the chiefs humbly surrendered, saying that out of one hundred and seventeen braves they had lost twenty-seven killed and twenty-one were wounded. Their canoes having been destroyed, the survivors were taken on board the *Massachusetts* and carried to Victoria, from which place they could easily make their way home.



The battle of Port Gamble prevented any further thought of the northern Indians joining the forces of Puget Sound hostiles, and for a time it was believed that the severe lesson would keep them out of these waters. It is true that they never again resisted a war-ship or a company of troops, but they sought and obtained revenge. In spite of the vigilance of the navy and the troops, marauding bands would strike swift blows and escape. To guard against these and similar dangers two forts were built — Fort Townsend, in charge of Major G. O. Haller, and Fort Bellingham, in charge of Captain George E. Pickett. Early in 1859, a band of Haidahs captured the schooners *Ellen Maria* and *Blue Wing*, while passing from Steilacoom to Port Townsend. The crews and passengers were murdered, and the schooners carried away or sunk. They were never seen again, nor were the murderers caught or punished. But the tragedy that stirred the inhabitants most profoundly was in immediate and direct retaliation for the battle of Port Gamble. A chief had been killed, and nothing but the head of a white chief would compensate them for such a loss. A band of the Indians returned to the same locality, and picked out Doctor J. C. Kellogg as their victim because he had good clothes and a good zinc boat. These in their eyes made him a chief. They camped on a point near the doctor's Whidbey Island home. The doctor was not there, and the women appealed to some marines, who were there surveying for a possible lighthouse, to drive the Indians away. Traveling northward along the island, they saw a man working in a hay-field. To the Indians' innocent question if that place belonged to a chief, the man promptly and proudly replied, "Oh, yes. Colonel Ebey was Hyas Tyee (Great Chief)." The Indians encamped on the beach, and that night, August 11, 1857, called Colonel Ebey to his door, murdered him, and cut off his head. His house was filled with guests, all of whom escaped into the woods. One lady ran to the neighboring cabin of R. C. Hill, who, with his brother and others, seized their rifles and hastened to the Ebey home. They heard a hammering noise, and knowing that Colonel Ebey was loved and trusted

by all the neighboring Indians, they could not believe he had been murdered. A shout was raised. There was a rush toward the beach, and soon a canoe grated over the gravel and disappeared in the fog. It was never learned whether any of the rifle shots reached the fleeing murderers, but on January 20, 1860, the Territorial Legislature adopted a vote of thanks to Captain Charles Dodd of the Hudson Bay Company's steamer *Labouchere*, who after two years' effort had recovered from those northern Indians the severed head of his friend Ebey and brought it back to have it buried with the rest of his body. In doing this, Captain Dodd had risked the lives of himself and crew.

The Washington Territory volunteers had every reason to be proud of the record they had made. Not every able-bodied man had rendered service. As usual there were a few who held back and whined, who made sure of their own scalps and then, like the despised breed of cowards, occupied their time in criticising those who were doing the best they knew how for the common welfare. The aggregate number of volunteers in service from Washington Territory had been sixteen hundred and eighty-one. It was estimated that there were not more than seventeen hundred men able to bear arms in the Territory, showing a very small portion who did not see service. The volunteers from Oregon rendered most valuable help, contributing a full share toward the success of the war. The volunteers had built thirty-five stockades, forts, and blockhouses; the citizens had built twenty-three; and the regular troops had built seven. Much labor had also been expended on building roads and cutting trails. Colonel Shaw had captured so many animals in the battle of Grande Ronde that their auction in Vancouver brought more than enough money to pay the cost of the entire expedition. "An incident showing the scrupulous regard for orders and public property maintained among the volunteers," says Hazard Stevens, "is related of Captain Henness. He captured a mule at the battle of Grande Ronde and rode it home to Olympia, a distance of some five hundred miles. Desirous of owning the animal, he bid for it when put up



at the public auction, but it was struck off to another for $475; and this brave officer, who had served in the field as captain of a company for ten months, was unable to secure his own riding mule, and one, too, captured by himself." [1] On arriving in Olympia in November, 1856, the governor disbanded the entire volunteer service. The accounts showed that scrip had been issued for equipment and pay-rolls amounting to about one and one half millions of dollars, most of which was subsequently redeemed by congressional appropriations.

Stevens, in his dual capacity as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, continued his demands upon the regular army officers for the delivery of Chiefs Leschi, Quiemuth, Kitsap, Stahi, and Nelson. He insisted that they must be tried by the civil authorities for certain murders of peaceful non-combatants. The officers refused, but a reward induced Sluggia to betray his chief Leschi, and Quiemuth gave himself up. The latter was held in custody in the governor's office over night, when he was to be transferred to Steilacoom. During the night the back door was forced open, and the chief was stabbed to death. It was not proved, but strongly suspected, that this crime was committed by James Bunton, whose father-in-law, James McAllister, had been killed while talking to Leschi's people. The governor expressed much chagrin over this affair. A great legal battle was fought over the case of Leschi. The army officers, lawyers, and certain disaffected citizens united to save his life. He was convicted and sentenced, but the execution of the sentence was delayed in one way and another until February 19, 1858, when "the unhappy savage, ill and emaciated from long confinement, and weary of a life which for nearly three years had been one of strife and misery, was strangled according to law." [2]

After the volunteers had been disbanded, the fourth session of the Territorial Legislature convened on December 1, 1856. On December 3, the governor delivered his annual message. It is a fine document that will live as long as the

[1] "Life of Isaac I. Stevens," Vol. II, pp. 232-233.
[2] H. H. Bancroft, Works, Vol. XXXI, p. 173.

annals of this commonwealth command any interest or respect at the hands of its citizens. He makes strong recommendations of many things needed by the Territory, but the bulk of the message comprises an account of the Indian war. In convincing terms he explains his policy and plans of campaigns, and leaves scant room for genuine criticism. In closing he says: "I have endeavored faithfully to do my whole duty, and have nothing to reproach myself with as regards intention. I could have wished some things had been done more wisely, and that my whole course had been guided by my present experience. I claim at your hands simply the merit of patient and long labor, and of having been animated with the fixed determination of suffering and enduring all things in your behalf. Whether in the wilderness contending with the hostile elements, managing and controlling the more hostile aborigines, or exploring the country, or at the capital struggling with disaffection, the subject of obloquy and abuse, I have had no end but my duty, no reward in view but my country's good. It is for you to judge how I have done my part, and for the Almighty Ruler to allot to each man his desert." [1]

It is hard to believe that a Legislature of pioneers would allow its better judgment to be warped by personal feeling and political prejudice in the face of such a frank and manly appeal, and yet just that occurred. A demand was made upon the governor for copies of the documents referred to in his message. He promptly complied and submitted letters, orders, and reports. There was nothing to conceal. Two items were picked out for the foundation of an attack upon the governor. One was the dishonorable discharge of Company A of Seattle, and the other was the proclamation of martial law in Pierce and Thurston counties.

Acting Governor Mason, in calling out the first volunteers, had received several companies organized as home guards. When Governor Stevens returned and assumed command, he disbanded all these and called out volunteers to serve the cause wherever needed. The Seattle company was

[1] Appendix to Washington Council Journal, 1857, p. xxiii.



reorganized as Company A, with Judge Edward Lander, captain; Arthur A. Denny, first lieutenant; and D. A. Neeley, second lieutenant. This company was allowed to remain in the vicinity of Seattle, and rendered valuable services there and on scouting trips into the adjacent valley. Without leave, Captain Lander left his company to take part against the martial law proceedings at Steilacoom. The command then fell to Lieutenant Denny. On June 9, 1856, Adjutant-general Tilton sent orders to Lieutenant Denny to leave ten men in the Duwamish blockhouse and take the balance of his men to help cut a road from Camp Hays to Snoqualmie Falls. Rather heated correspondence resulted. It was believed the company or an equal force was needed at Seattle. This was five months before the capture of Leschi, and no doubt there was still much alarm there. It was believed at headquarters that the navy and a small land guard was enough at Seattle, and on Lieutenant Denny persisting in his refusal to move, he was discharged, and Lieutenant Neeley was promoted to the command. The new commander not only refused to obey, but the entire company signed a remonstrance. The governor sent his aide, Colonel Fitzhugh, to persuade the company to rescind or modify its remonstrance. On refusing to do this the whole company was dishonorably discharged, with the one reservation that the governor would not insist upon the full penalty, but would retain the names on the roll for full pay for services rendered. Dishonorable discharge was the only penalty used by the governor to maintain discipline in his army. When the Legislature assembled, Mr. Denny was one of the nine members of the new council, and was made chairman of the committee on military affairs. The case of Company A was promptly brought forward, and on December 24, 1856, a joint resolution ordered Adjutant-general Tilton to receive the final muster-roll of the company and that it be placed on the same footing as all the other companies. On January 15, another joint resolution demanded that Company A be recommended for favorable consideration by the congressional commission appointed to examine the

Indian war debt of Oregon and Washington. As an additional affront to the governor, a memorial was adopted on January 16 asking Congress to separate the offices of governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in Washington Territory. In this they palpably overreached themselves. Congress acted in a way they did not expect. The superintendencies of Oregon and Washington were united in May, and Colonel J. W. Nesmith was appointed to the new office. At the next session Washington petitioned to have the large superintendency divided again.

All this was not enough. A direct censure of the governor was wanted to aid in his removal from office. In the Lower House was Frank Clark, a representative from Pierce County. He had been the lawyer of those ex-employees of the Hudson Bay Company whose arrest and attempted release on writs of habeas corpus had caused the martial law proclamations. His deep interest in the case is revealed by the record of the House for January 16. The motion granting him a leave of absence was reconsidered. He withdrew his request for such leave, and then the joint resolutions censuring the governor for his martial law proclamations, including the words, "calls at our hands for the strongest condemnation," [1] were brought forward and passed by a vote of seventeen to ten. John Briscoe offered a minority report from the judiciary committee, defending the governor. He could not get it adopted, but had it spread on the records. Similar action was taken by James W. Wiley in the council. The vote on the resolutions there was five in favor and four against.

That Legislature was torn with a conflict of feelings. They surely had some respect for the governor, for they acted on his advice in all matters recommended for the good of the Territory, and on January 28 they passed a law incorporating the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. In this law they named fifty-eight incorporators: thirty-three in Washington Territory, six in Oregon Territory, three in Minnesota, four in Wisconsin, three in Illinois, three in Iowa, two in California, three in Maine, and one

[1] Laws of the Territory of Washington, 1856–1857, pp. 85–86.



in New York. At the head of the whole list they placed the name of Isaac I. Stevens. During the session each House had been trying to frame a joint resolution of thanks to the volunteers. The question culminated in the proceedings of the last day. A majority of the Lower House had changed its sentiment, and insisted on a special mention of the governor as commander-in-chief. The council stubbornly refused. Each House spread its own form of thanks on the record, but for all that the volunteers remained unthanked by a joint resolution.

As the next election drew near the Democrats nominated Governor Stevens for delegate to Congress, and the Whigs nominated Alexander S. Abernethy, who had voted for the censure in the council. The governor invited Mr. Abernethy to join him in the campaign. He could not accept, but sent William H. Wallace, who as presiding officer cast the deciding vote for the censure. A tour of the settlements was made. The election took place on July 13, 1857, the result showing that Stevens had received nine hundred and eighty-six votes to five hundred and forty-nine for Mr. Abernethy. This large majority was looked upon as a complete vindication of the governor. In the following winter the new Legislature sought to expunge that vote of censure, and on January 19, 1858, adopted a joint resolution condemning the former resolution and commending Governor Stevens' course in general and in the martial law proceedings particularly. A memorial was adopted asking Congress to ratify those treaties held so long in abeyance. Thanks were extended to the volunteers, and General Wool was condemned for his actions toward the Territory during the war and especially for his Steptoe decree closing the Walla Walla country to settlers. While the Stevens resolution was being considered, Mr. Denny resorted to a little sarcasm by moving to add the name of Brigham Young. In the House the opponents enlarged upon this idea by claiming that an approval of Governor Stevens' proclamations would be considered by the country to be an approval of Brigham Young's more recent proclamations in Utah.

When Major-general Wool was removed, he was succeeded by Brigadier-general Newman S. Clarke. The new commander found, inside of one year, that his predecessor's ideas of the injured Indians of eastern Washington were untrustworthy. When the policy of the Department of the Pacific was changed, the peaceful Colonel Wright became a sort of demon of destruction. The peace he had established was virtually a surrender of the United States to the Indians. If settlers were excluded, that meant to the Indians that the treaties were abrogated. If the murderers were to go unpunished, that meant the United States forts were to be an asylum for Indian renegades. All this was to be changed under General Clarke, and in fact by October, 1858, that officer had arrived at so radical a change in the ideas inherited from General Wool that he wrote to the adjutant-general of the United States army that the Indian treaties made by Governor Stevens ought to be approved and ratified, and he also recommended that Wool's policy of excluding settlers from the Columbia valleys should be changed, and the lands thrown open to settlement. Another officer was to receive the credit, however, for putting that last idea into execution. On September 13, 1858, the Department of the Pacific was divided. General Clarke remained in command of the Department of California, and General W. S. Harney, who had been earning laurels in Utah, was placed in command of the new Department of Oregon. He arrived at his new post on October 29, and two days afterwards issued an order opening the Walla Walla country to settlers. Colonel J. W. Nesmith had had experience in fighting those Indians, and one of his first acts on assuming the duties of superintendent of the united districts of Oregon and Washington was to send in a recommendation for the ratification of the treaties as one of the first steps toward a settlement of the troubles on a permanent basis.

The Indians did not appreciate the mistaken kindnesses of Colonel Wright. A band of Palouses entered the Walla Walla Valley, and ran off a lot of cattle belonging to the soldiers. Two white men on their way to the Colville



mines were killed, and the Indians had become so hostile that forty people living near Colville had petitioned for protection. In April, Colonel Steptoe notified General Clarke that an expedition against the Indians north of Walla Walla seemed necessary. On May 6, he left Walla Walla with one hundred and thirty dragoons. He was ferried across the Snake River by Timothy, a Nez Percé, who accompanied him as guide. On May 16, he encountered six hundred Indians — Spokanes, Palouses, and Cœur d'Alenes. The troops were poorly equipped. They had only their side-arms, a small amount of ammunition, and two small cannons. A parley with the Indians disclosed the fact that they intended to fight, as they did not propose to have troops marching in their country or to have roads built there. The troops had met these Indians in a ravine, and had managed to march out of it to a small lake without either side firing a shot. Here some chiefs came up to learn why the troops had come, and why they had brought cannons. Steptoe declared he was on his way to Colville to see about trouble between the Indians and miners. The Indians were only partially satisfied, as the troops had gone on a wide detour if only to reach Colville. Early on the morning of May 17, Steptoe began his retreat toward the Palouse. An interview was asked with the chiefs, but Chief Vincent of the Cœur d'Alenes alone responded. As he and Steptoe talked while marching, the chief was called back and the Palouses began firing at the troops. The engagement became general and raged all that day around the hills above the present city of Rosalia. At eleven o'clock Captain Oliver H. P. Taylor and Lieutenant William Gaston were killed in an attempt to flank the enemy. The men managed to carry the dead bodies from the field. The men then picketed their horses and lay flat upon the ground, driving back the Indians with occasional charges. Six of the men lay dead, and eleven were wounded. At night they hurriedly buried the dead, and guided by the faithful Timothy, ran through the lines of the enemy and escaped to the Snake River, arriving there on May 19. Not far from this battle is a hill high enough to be seen for many miles in

every direction. Since that time it has been called Steptoe Butte, and the engagement has been known as the battle of Steptoe Butte.

General Clarke called a council of his officers at Vancouver, at which Colonels Wright and Steptoe were present. It was decided that those Indians needed punishing, but this time it must be done properly. Major Garnett would operate in the Yakima country with three hundred troops, and Colonel Wright would invade the Spokane and Cœur d'Alene country with seven hundred. Among others, he took a company of thirty Nez Percé scouts dressed in soldiers' uniforms. He had made a treaty of alliance with four of the Nez Percé chiefs. On August 31, the command had reached Four Lakes and intended to rest a few days, but the next morning the Indians came, looking for trouble. There was a surprise in store for them. In the battle of Steptoe Butte their muskets were superior to the pistols of the soldiers. Now the new rifles, the howitzers, and the charging dragoons gave them no rest, and shot them down more easily and at longer distances than they had been able to do with poor Steptoe's men. Wright lost not a man nor a horse. The Indians lost eighteen killed. After a rest of three days the march was resumed, and on September 5, the Indians collected and set fire to the grass, through which they prepared to charge on the blinded troops. But the charge came from the other side, and again the Indians were driven to cover in the timber. Through the forest there were charges and fighting for fourteen miles. After resting a day on the banks of the Spokane River, the march was resumed, when Indians appeared on the opposite bank and asked a parley between Chief Garry and Colonel Wright. At a ford two miles above the falls the parley was held. Garry said he had been friendly, but now his people threatened to kill him unless he joined in the war. Colonel Wright told him to say to his people that he had not come to make peace but to fight, and unless the Indians made a complete surrender, he would fight them that year and the next and so on until they were exterminated. Chief Polatkin of the Spokanes came into camp with nine war-



riors. The chief had been in the Steptoe fight and, with one warrior, was held. The others were sent off to bring in the other Spokanes. At the next encampment, that detained warrior was tried for being one of the murderers of the two recently killed miners. He was found guilty, and was hanged the same day.

On September 8, it was found that, instead of coming in to surrender, the Indians were driving off their stock. A skirmish resulted in capturing eight hundred horses. The animals were too wild for the white men's immediate use. They could not be driven on the contemplated campaign. Selecting a few of the best ones, the balance of the whole band were shot on September 9 and 10. Almost immediately Chief Big Star surrendered. The Cœur d'Alenes now wished to surrender. Colonel Wright said he would meet them at their mission. On September 17, the Cœur d'Alenes and a number of Spokanes surrendered. The terms were severe. The men who struck the first blows at the Steptoe fight must be delivered up and sent to General Clarke. One chief and four warriors must be given up to be taken to Fort Walla Walla. The property taken from the Steptoe command must be returned. They must sign a written agreement to permit troops and other white men to pass through their lands, must keep turbulent Indians away from them, and must stop all hostility against the white men.

A council was appointed with the Spokanes for September 23. To this Chief Kamiakin was invited, but declined to appear. The terms exacted of the Spokanes were similar to those in the Cœur d'Alene agreement. Chief Owhi, the Yakima, came into the council evidently remembering his easy experience with Colonel Wright in the Yakima country. He did not know the colonel had changed. As soon as he came into camp, he was put in irons for having broken his agreement of 1856. Unexpectedly the chief's son Qualchin, the murderer of Agent Bolon, came into camp. He was seized and hanged without trial. While still at this same Spokane council grounds, on September 25, a number of the Palouse tribe came into camp. Colonel Wright

refused to treat with that treacherous tribe, and promptly hanged a number of those who came into his camp. A few days later, while Chief Owhi was attempting to escape, he was shot and soon died. After returning to Fort Walla Walla, Colonel Wright called a council of the Walla Wallas. He asked those who had been in the recent battles to stand up. Thirty-five responded, and four were selected, turned over to the guard, and hanged. Major Garnett preferred shooting. In his march through the Yakima country to the Okanogan River, he captured eighty Indians, of whom eight were shot. Twenty-four Indians were executed besides those killed in battle, and the Indians had lost heavily in horses and provisions. Surely much of that slaughter could have been avoided if two years before General Wool had used sensible coöperation with the citizen soldiery instead of giving rein to his violent prejudices.

The Thirty-fourth Congress, 1855–1857, for the first time had a majority of Republicans in the Lower House, there being one hundred and eight of that party to eighty-three Democrats. Nathaniel P. Banks was Speaker. In the Senate the case was reversed, with forty-two Democrats and fifteen Republicans, and Jesse D. Bright and James M. Mason serving as presidents *pro tem.* In the next Congress both Houses were Democratic, with Benjamin Fitzpatrick as president *pro tem* and James L. Orr as Speaker. Since Stevens had been appointed governor by the Democratic President, Franklin Pierce, and was elected delegate to Congress by the Democratic party, and since the Republican House, under Speaker Banks, had no part in ratifying treaties, it is clear that the obstacles in the way of the 1855 treaties were not associated with party politics. Those obstacles were raised by General Wool and his personal partisans. John Ellis Wool had earned a magnificent reputation, and was justly held in high esteem in the East. As a young man of twenty-eight he raised a company of volunteers in Troy, New York, and was commissioned on April 14, 1812. In that war with England he gained distinguished honor, being promoted to the rank of Major and Brevet Lieutenant-colonel for gallantry. He made a tour of



Europe for the army, and in 1841, was made a brigadier-general. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he sent twelve thousand volunteers to the field prepared for duty. At the battle of Buena Vista he chose the ground, and had command of the field until the arrival of his superior, General Zachary Taylor. It would have saved endless trouble if Governor Stevens had exercised a little kind diplomacy instead of a rebuke for the old soldier in regard to the technical command at Buena Vista during that San Francisco meeting in 1854. For his services in the Mexican War Congress voted General Wool the thanks of the nation and presented him a sword of honor. New York State presented him another sword. He served through the first two years of the war between the States, and was retired in 1863 at the age of seventy-nine. He died in 1869, and Troy reared to his memory a monument seventy-five feet high, for which William Cullen Bryant wrote an appropriate inscription. When a man with such a record took up the cudgels against Governor Stevens and his Indian treaties, it is not surprising that a majority of the United States Senate hesitated a long time before consenting to the ratification of those treaties. The argument holding the opposition firmly against all requests to change was a very simple one: while Stevens was making the treaties, the Indian war broke out, but with the regular troops at Fort Walla Walla the Indians were at peace. No attention was paid to the virtual surrender to the Indians by suspending the treaties and barring the white settlers from the country. The unexpected and bloody campaigns of Steptoe and Wright fell like thunderbolts among the authorities at Washington City. The news was quickly followed by the recommendation from General Clarke that the treaties be ratified and by the order of General Harney throwing the Walla Walla country open to settlers. If Delegate Stevens desired, he could fold his hands and laugh. On one day, March 8, 1859, the Senate voted to ratify every one of those delayed treaties. President Buchanan was more leisurely, but between April 11 and April 29, he proclaimed them all, and they are still in force.

Stevens didn't know how to fold his hands. He was a human dynamo. The day after he arrived in Washington City he called upon the commissioner of Indian Affairs, and began the long work of securing an adjustment of the heavy Indian expenditures in Oregon and Washington. He turned the upper part of his house into an office, and installed there James G. Swan as his secretary. He then began on his programme: confirmation of the Indian treaties, payment of the war debt, advocacy of the northern railroad route, a separate Indian superintendency for Washington Territory, armed steamer for Puget Sound, mail routes, military roads, appropriations for the Indian service and other purposes. Apparently he lost no opportunity to render a full account of his time and ability in this service for the Territory he loved. He issued a circular letter giving information to immigrants wishing to settle in Washington Territory. He worked in perfect harmony with Delegate Joseph Lane of Oregon Territory, who had acquired great influence at the national capital. A memoir by Delegate Stevens to Secretary of State Lewis Cass on the exorbitant demands of the Hudson Bay Company on American miners going into the Fraser River region was widely published, and no doubt caused that company to modify its course. Most of the congressional recess was spent in work among the departments. On December 2, 1858, he delivered before the American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York an address, covering fifty-six pages, on the Pacific Northwest. He was looked upon as an enthusiast, but time has long since fulfilled his prophetic statements. His final reports on the railroad survey were completed and published. On his way home to Olympia he had an earnest and successful conference with General Harney on the San Juan case, in which the work of Governor Stevens was an important element. He was unanimously renominated for Congress, and on his invitation his Republican opponent, William H. Wallace, joined in the canvass. The election on July 11, 1859, showed sixteen hundred and eighty-four votes for Stevens and ten hundred and ninety-four for Wallace. He continued his active work for the Territory



of Washington during his second term, and as the wave of secession appeared, he took strong ground in favor of maintaining the Union. He served as chairman of the Breckenbridge and Lane campaign committee, and after the election urged President Buchanan to expel the disloyal members from his Cabinet.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PIONEER HOME AND VILLAGE

THE defeat of Steptoe's command, the surprise of Colonel Wright's campaign, and the resulting confirmation of the Indian treaties removed a great obstacle from the path of the American home-seeker. Possession of large tracts of desirable lands was still claimed by the Hudson Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. While these claims were opposed most strenuously by the pioneers in person and in their legislative memorials, they fully realized that such matters would be adjusted ultimately by the courts and cabinets of the two governments. The Indian title was different. It was recognized by the United States as applying to every acre. The only way known, then, fairly and justly to acquire that land for the settlers, was by purchase through treaties with the various tribes. In 1854, Congress had made provision for such treaties of purchase, and during the following year the treaties were concluded. The wars followed, and for four years those treaties were buried in a pigeonhole of the Senate committee. The incongruity of this action was emphasized by the fact that Congress had encouraged settlers to seek homes in the Northwest by passing the favorable Donation Land Law for Oregon in 1850 and amending it in 1853 and 1854. This law at first granted three hundred and twenty acres to each man and a like amount to the wife of each married man. Later the amount was cut in half, but still the desire to encourage settlement was apparent. In view of these provisions it was a palpable wrong in the eyes of the settler for the government not to quiet the recognized title of the Indians. That wrong was removed in 1859 by the tardy ratification and proclamation of the treaties.





MARKING THE BIRTHPLACE OF SEATTLE





But the organization of Washington Territory, the holding of legislative assemblies, and the transaction of other public business are, of course, evidence that the settlers had not waited for this belated action. They just took it for granted that in some way they would be able to acquire and hold title to their new homes.

The homes built by the first American settlers on the Pacific coast were in every way counterparts of those built more than two centuries before by the Pilgrim Fathers on the Atlantic coast and of those built by all the families of pioneers in their wonderful march across a continent from sea to sea. They were built of logs and chinked with moss and mud. Half a century later a stampede to Alaska saw a new birth of the log-cabin home, but by that time there had been invented folding wire beds, collapsible sheet-iron stoves, evaporated, condensed, and canned foods of all kinds. By the time a hamlet could boast of a dozen cabins it would enjoy the comforts of a post-office, store, and freshly printed newspaper. There is no doubt that the brave men and women of Alaska experienced pioneering, but it was of a different sort from that encountered by the former generations of their kind. In the forties and fifties a feather bed was considered necessary for the health and comfort of every household. The men could easily rest on a buffalo robe and blanket, but the women and children must have the feathers. In the long journey across the plains one prized article after another would be thrown away to lighten the load, but nearly every family would arrive at its destination with the bulky feather beds, only to discover that the Indians would bring a canoe load of feathers for two cups of molasses. Stoves were out of the question. Food was cooked on the open fire. Furniture of rude patterns was made by hand, the table being hinged against the wall so it could be lifted out of the way when not in use. The supply of cloth and thread became exhausted, and mothers bought of Indian women some buckskin and shredded deer sinew with which to make clothing for the boys. The Puget Sound climate was not suitable for buckskin clothing. The first shower would cause the trousers

to drag on the ground, and when the boys were stood around a fire to dry, the trousers would shrivel up, rattle, and scrape as if made of tin. Though supplied with molds for making candles, they had no tallow, and so the long evenings were illuminated with the glare from the open fire or from twisted wicks in cups of spluttering fish-oil. Rolland H. Denny was born in Portland, in 1851, where the family paused before proceeding to Puget Sound. On arriving at the Alki Point home the mother had to wean her babe. There was no milk to be had, but the baby was nursed to rugged boyhood on clam juice. The Indians, though friendly, were bold and curious. They stalked into the cabins, sat down by the fire, and patiently observed the mysteries of pale-face cookery. Mrs. John N. Low told the writer that one of those Indians once gave her an "attack of nerves" by poking his dirty finger into a loaf of bread she was baking before the fire. She took up her wooden shovel, stirred up the fire, and as the Indian scrambled back from the sparks, she gave his bare legs an awful spank with the hot shovel. He rushed from the cabin with a yell, and then she sat down and cried for fear of a scalping party in retaliation. But the next day the brave stood on the outer edge of a group of Indians, and was evidently telling the others to beware of that woman with the hot stick. To keep the Indians out of the cabins and still retain light and ventilation from the only opening in the structures, a half door was invented, so the upper half could remain open while the lower half was bolted. Thereafter the Indians contented themselves by peering over the obstacle and making comments and observations at a more respectful distance.

When speaking of the first white settlers in northern Oregon or Washington Territory, it is perfectly natural that the name of Michael T. Simmons should come to mind, although he had been preceded by many white men in the same region. The reason for this is easily discerned. The first establishments by white men in Old Oregon were the rude trading posts built by the Northwest Company men west of the mountains and south of the fifty-fourth



parallel. This was in 1807. These were followed in 1827 by the planting of Fort Langley near the mouth of the Fraser River. Since these were all north of the forty-ninth parallel, they have been on land unquestionably British since 1846, and for that reason, perhaps, they are rarely mentioned as among the first white settlements of Old Oregon. The Astoria settlement of 1811 has continued the home of white men, but it is on the south bank of the Columbia, and is now part of northern Oregon. The years 1811 and 1812 witnessed the planting of American trading posts at Okanogan and Spokane, and British posts at Spokane and Walla Walla. The British had control of all of them after the War of 1812, and some years after the treaty of 1846 they were abandoned. The British Fort Vancouver, established in 1825, has persisted as the home of white men to the present time, and is the oldest continuous settlement of the white race in the present State of Washington. But Vancouver was on the southern edge of northern Oregon. Moreover, it was the capital of British interests in the Northwest, and as such, was naturally in opposition to the planting of American settlements north of the Columbia. The Whitman mission station at Waiilatpu in 1836 and the Eells-Walker station in Spokane in 1838 were assuredly American homes in what afterwards became Washington, but they were practically snuffed out of existence by the Whitman massacre of 1847. The Methodist mission station at Nisqually in 1840 was the first American home on Puget Sound, but Doctor J. P. Richmond left the station in 1842 and the building was burned. It is thus seen that, notwithstanding all these former settlements, the ground was in a way cleared for the planting of American homes that would endure and gather others about them. By thus persisting, they would in time be looked upon as the first American homes in the commonwealth. These considerations add a peculiar interest to the annals of Tumwater.

Michael Troutman Simmons was born in Sheppardsville, Kentucky, August 5, 1814. Bancroft says he was "unlettered but not unenlightened." At the age of thirty he came to Oregon with the immigration of 1844, and spent the

winter at Fort Vancouver, cutting shingles there for his expenses. He intended to settle in the Rogue River Valley in Oregon, but the British interests were so determined against American settlers going to Puget Sound that this hard-headed Kentuckian decided that that was the very place he must select for his home. During the winter he started with five others, but all of them turned back from the fork of the Cowlitz River, and by the next July Simmons made another start. This time he had eight companions — George Waunch, David Crawford, Charles Eaton, Niniwon Everman, Seyburn Thornton, William Shaw, David Parker, and John Hunt. They spied a good place on the banks of the Des Chutes River, where it tumbles some eighty feet on its way to Budd Inlet, an arm of Puget Sound. Simmons made a canoe voyage of exploration as far as Whidbey Island, but returned to the falls and began a settlement which was called New Market. Later the name was changed to Tumwater. Here was begun the first American town north of the Columbia River. In October, he went back to Fort Vancouver for his family, and on returning, was accompanied by the well-known pioneer families of James McAllister, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones, George W. Bush, and two unmarried men — Jesse Ferguson and Samuel B. Crockett. The next year the water-power of the falls was harnessed to drive the crude machinery in a log-cabin gristmill, and in 1847 a sawmill was built to use the same force of the rushing water.

John R. Jackson must also be mentioned as one of the very first American settlers. Before Simmons had started on his second and successful trip, Jackson had started in March, 1845, for the same section selected by Simmons. He stopped short of tide-water, however, and built his home in the Cowlitz Valley on a place since known as Jackson Prairie. His log cabin was a great landmark in early days, and part of it still remains standing. Being on the main road, it was a favorite stopping place for all travelers. The first courts of Lewis County were held there, as were other meetings of importance.

In 1846, Sidney S. Ford and Joseph Borst settled at the

confluence of Skookum Chuck and the Chehalis River, near the present city of Centralia. Ford's descendants still live on Ford's Prairie. In the same year, Edmund Sylvester and Levi L. Smith arrived from Oregon City, and forming a partnership, they took up two half sections of land, one on Budd Inlet about two miles from Tumwater, and the other on what is known as Chamber's Prairie. A number of other settlers arrived in 1846, but a combination of circumstances checked the growth of the communities during the three years that followed. These were the Whitman massacre in 1847, the rush to the newly found gold-fields in California in 1848, and Patkanim's incipient Indian war at Nisqually in 1849. During that period a few events deserve attention. In 1847, a trail was cut through the forest from Tumwater for two miles to the shore, where Levi L. Smith's house gave the name of Smithfield to what might become a city. In July of that same year on the farm of Simon Plomondon, an old employee of the Hudson Bay Company, Samuel Hancock, and A. B. Rabbeson burned the first kiln of bricks. In 1848, Rev. Pascal Ricard, Oblate Father, established a mission on Budd Inlet, three miles from Tumwater. In that same year, Thomas W. Glasgow made a canoe trip to Whidbey Island, where he built a cabin and planted wheat and potatoes. He then returned to Tumwater for companions. He was joined by A. B. Rabbeson and A. B. Cornefix. They carried their canoes across the portage from Case Inlet to Hood Canal for the purpose of exploring that body of water. At the mouth of the Skokomish River, Mr. Cornefix turned back, but the other two continued on to Glasgow's Whidbey Island claim. There the Indians informed them that Chief Patkanim had held a council, and had decided against white settlers, whereupon the two white men retreated to Tumwater. This success encouraged the chief to make the attack on Nisqually. In that he was seriously repulsed, and later he was taken to San Francisco on a sailing vessel. There he saw so many white men that he decided to be friendly. It will be recalled that he became a hunter of hostile Indian heads during the subsequent wars.

In 1849, Mr. Simmons sold the water-power and other interests at Tumwater to Captain Clanrick Crosby for $35,000. He was now a capitalist. In the following January some of the gold seekers returned from California. The brig *Orbit* had arrived in San Francisco with a crowd of gold hunters. On landing the passengers, the owners sold the brig to three Puget Sounders — Isaac N. Ebey, Benjamin F. Shaw, and Edmund Sylvester — and a man named Jackson. In the *Orbit* they returned to Puget Sound, bringing with them Charles Hart Smith, a young man who had come from Calais, Maine, with the gold hunters. Mr. Simmons bought the brig and loaded her with spars for San Francisco. He sent young Smith as supercargo to sell the spars and to bring back a cargo of merchandise. In the meantime Levi L. Smith had died, and his interest in the Smithfield place fell to his partner, Edmund Sylvester, who persuaded Mr. Simmons to start a store in Smithfield and deeded him two lots. A structure of rough boards was reared two stories high and twenty-five by forty feet ground dimensions. In this building the *Orbit's* cargo was placed, and the first American store was opened for business. The trade was undoubtedly profitable. Cook stoves, without furniture, sold for $85. It had been customary for the British company stores to refuse the sale of goods unless the would-be buyer could show the goods were actually needed. This was to prevent any huckstering with the natives. That kind of a monopoly was, of course, destroyed when the American store was opened. Young Smith was installed as clerk, manager, and a sort of partner. Had he been honest, he might have filled a prominent niche in the commercial history of the Pacific coast. He was sent to San Francisco with $60,000 in cash and credits, and absconded with the whole sum, leaving Mr. Simmons practically bankrupt.[1] When it became apparent that Smithfield was to be a city, Isaac N. Ebey suggested that its name be changed to Olympia. The suggestion was adopted, and the beautiful city that has evolved from that beginning has been the capital throughout the history of the Ter-

[1] Thomas W. Prosch, "Maynard," p. 69.

ritory and State of Washington. The *Orbit* had brought as passenger in 1850 John M. Swan, who settled on a claim east of the town. From that time on that portion of Olympia has been known as "Swantown."

Three members of the British ship *Albion's* crew settled near Fort Steilacoom. They were William Bolton, Frederick Rabjohn, and William Elders. With that nucleus another pioneer village, to be known as Steilacoom, in honor of the Indian chief of that name, was begun in 1850, for in that year the second American store was opened there. In July, Lafayette Balch, owner of the brig *George Emory*, arrived at Olympia with a load of goods. These were unloaded at Olympia, but the town-site owner, Sylvester, was afraid the opposition might injure the Simmons store. He refused favorable terms, and Mr. Balch reloaded the goods, and building a large-frame store at Steilacoom, installed Henry C. Wilson as his clerk and began business in a rival town.

Wilson did not remain long in that store, for on August 15, 1850, he took up a claim at the place named by Vancouver, Port Townsend. The next year he was joined by the famous pioneers, Bachelder, Hastings, Pettygrove, and Plummer. When Port Townsend was made the headquarters of the United States customs district of Puget Sound, it became better known throughout the world than any other city in Washington Territory.

Whidbey Island was one of the earliest places settled in the Puget Sound region. The first settler after Glasgow's attempt was Isaac N. Ebey, who took a claim on the island opposite Port Townsend on October 15, 1850. Another of the earliest settlers there was R. H. Lansdale, who took a claim on Penn's Cove, on the shore of the island, in 1851. Samuel Hancock removed to the island in 1852, and became well known as a pioneer. A large number of others settled there in 1852 and 1853, including Captain Thomas Coupe, founder of Coupeville, the present seat of government for Island County.

Some ten years or more ago, Mrs. Abbie J. Hanford produced family letters showing that her brother, John C.

Holgate, had selected a claim on the southeastern shore of Elliott Bay in 1850. He had come to Oregon in 1847, and took part in the Cayuse war resulting from the Whitman massacre. The selection of that claim on Elliott Bay entitles Holgate to the honor of being the first settler of Seattle. In the summer of 1851, Luther M. Collins, Henry Van Asselt, Jacob Maple, and Samuel Maple settled on claims on the banks of the Duwamish River. At first these were known as "river settlers," but in late years the city has grown in that direction until they, too, are now counted among the earliest settlers of Seattle. A good story of this little community has been saved. Collins had tied a calf in front of his house. The Indians' dogs worried it, when Van Asselt seized his gun, and though it was a dark night, killed two of the dogs. "Collins' daughter, a bright girl of fourteen who had in her two or three years among the Indians learned their feelings and superstitions, said at once that there would be trouble; one might as well kill an Indian as kill an Indian's dog. Early the next morning she went to the camp, and soon heard the savages say that they were going to kill the man who shot the dogs. 'But you can't kill him,' she said. They wished to know why. 'It is Van Asselt, and he has lead in his body,' she answered. She had learned their superstition that one with lead in his body was invulnerable. At this intelligence, therefore, they were much set back. 'More than that,' the girl went on, 'he is sure with his gun; daylight or dark, sunlight or moonlight, he can shoot and kill.'"[1] Later Van Asselt casually disclosed his wounded arm, which actually carried a charge of shot, and he also astonished the Indians by bringing down one crow after another with his shot-gun. That reputation saved his own life, and undoubtedly helped to shield the others.

On September 25, 1851, this Duwamish colony received a visit from the advance guard of what is known as the "Denny party." David T. Denny had crossed the plains that year to assist the family of his older brother, Arthur A.

[1] Frederick James Grant, "History of Seattle" (New York, American Publishing and Engraving Company, 1891), p. 48.



ARTHUR A. DENNY



Denny. He was deputized to go with John N. Low and place their cattle in good winter quarters on Ford's Prairie, and the two proceeded on to Puget Sound to pick out a place for the entire party. At Olympia they were joined by Lee Terry and Captain Robert C. Fay. After they had visited the Duwamish settlers, they returned to an attractive point of land at the entrance to the bay, where Low and Terry selected claims. Low hired young Denny to hold his claim while he returned to Portland for his waiting family. On September 28, Denny and Terry began the construction of the first log cabin. When Low reached Portland, it was found that the schooner *Exact*, Captain Folger, was about to sail for Queen Charlotte Island with some gold hunters. Room was also found in the schooner for passengers headed for Puget Sound. On the morning of November 13, 1851, as the first of these passengers landed, young Denny emerged from a bower of brush, rubbing his eyes. "I am mighty glad to see you folks," said he, "for the skunks have eaten all my grub." Lee Terry had gone on an errand, leaving Denny alone to hold down the claims destined to evolve into a metropolis.

The landing was hastily accomplished, and then the men tugged away on the task of carrying the goods beyond the reach of the incoming tide. A dreary autumn rain was falling. There was no shelter. The schooner continued on its way to Olympia. The colony was alone. Arthur A. Denny turned to his friend and said: "Low, white women are scarce in these parts. We had better take care of what we have." He found his own wife sitting on a log, her back against a tree. In her arms was a babe but a few weeks old. She was weeping. "Come, come, wife, this is no way to begin pioneering." "Oh, you promised when we left Illinois that we would not settle in a wilderness. Now see where we are." The foundation of Seattle was laid in a mother's tears. This colony was the real nucleus around which grew the city. On the arrival of the *Exact's* passengers, it comprised twenty-four souls — twelve adults and twelve children — as follows: Arthur A. Denny and wife with three children, Louise C., Margaret Lenora, and

Rolland H.; John N. Low and wife with four children, Alonzo, Mary, John N. V., and Minerva; William N. Bell and wife with four children, Laura, Olive, Virginia, and Lavina; Carson D. Boren and wife with one child, Gertrude; Louisa Boren, the sister of Mr. Boren and of Mrs. Arthur A. Denny; Charles C. Terry, brother of Lee Terry; David T. Denny and Lee Terry, who had remained from the advance guard.

Hope and ambition held sway. The little town was promptly named "New York." As expansion seemed slow, a tardy modesty suggested the addition of a Chinook jargon word, and the place was known as "New York Alki." The added word means "by and by." After a while the large name was divided, but the Indian name persisted. To this day the place is called Alki Point. In February, 1852, Arthur A. Denny, with Mr. Bell and Mr. Boren, took an Indian canoe, and with a bundle of horseshoes and a clothesline made soundings in the bay to see if it was deep enough for a harbor. On February 15, they had made up their minds, and staked out three claims in a body. Mr. Boren and David Denny left in March to bring the stock from Ford's Prairie. On March 31, Doctor David S. Maynard arrived at Alki with Chief Seattle, who had spent the winter at Olympia. The doctor was looking for a temporary camp on which to begin a fish-packing enterprise he had in mind. He accepted the offer of the others to readjust their claims, so as to give him a frontage on the shore. On April 3, Mr. Bell, the family of Mr. Boren, and Doctor Maynard moved over to the new claims, Mr. Denny's family being detained by illness. In October, Henry L. Yesler arrived, and the settlers gladly readjusted their boundary lines again, so as to give water frontage to the new arrival. He wanted to start a sawmill. His was the first steam sawmill on Puget Sound. The institution was of such great importance to the community that Mr. Yesler was often referred to in after years as the real father of the city. On May 23, 1853, Arthur A. Denny and Mr. Boren joined in filing the plat of the town of Seattle, and in the evening Doctor Maynard filed his plat as well. Before the filing of these plats the town had become known by the name of



the friendly Indian chief, for on January 6, 1853, the Legislature of Oregon Territory passed a law enacting: "That the county-seat of King County be and the same is hereby located at Seattle, on the land claim of David S. Maynard."[1] The town grew rapidly except during the period of depression immediately following the Indian wars of 1855–1856.

Gold mining made a city of San Francisco. Vessels came to Puget Sound for piles to build wharves and timbers for the structures of the new city. William R. Pattle, while hunting for suitable timber on Bellingham Bay, discovered coal there in 1852. He went away to get money to develop the mine. In that same year Henry Roeder, R. V. Peabody, and a millwright named Brown organized the Whatcom Milling Company to use the convenient water-power of Whatcom Creek. They deserted one claim for another with more timber on it. Henry Hewitt and William Brown took the deserted claim, and while getting off the logs, discovered coal. They sold the claim for $18,000. Among the other early settlers of Whatcom, there should be named Edward Eldridge, H. C. Page, and William Utter, who arrived in 1852; and L. N. Collins, Alexander McLean, C. E. Roberts, and J. W. Lysle in 1853. Mrs. Ella Higginson, the poet, says she has the distinction of having lived in three cities of Washington — Sehome, New Whatcom, and Bellingham — without having moved out of her house. The early settlements had grown into towns and cities in more or less rivalry with each other until they began to coalesce. Finally Fairhaven joined the others, making the present city of Bellingham.

Nicholas Delin, a native of Sweden, was the first settler on Commencement Bay. He secured a half section of land at the head of the bay on the south side. This was in 1852, and he at once interested Michael T. Simmons and Smith Hays with him in the building of a little water-power sawmill. That mill had "a fault, which was apparently beyond cure, of turning out boards thicker at one end than

[1] The Oregon Historical Society has reprinted the text of this law on cards for exhibition purposes.

at the other, and sometimes thicker in the middle than at either end."[1] In spite of its faults, the little mill helped to build a great city. In 1853, a large immigration came directly to Puget Sound, being the first to cross the Cascade Range through Naches Pass. With this party was Peter Judson, who secured a donation claim of half a section just north of Delin. Milas Galiher later acquired the Delin property, including the mill. Job Carr secured a home on the bay in 1864, when he built the log cabin, which is now moved to Point Defiance Park and saved as a relic. These slender beginnings received an enormous impetus in 1868 by the arrival of one man. This was General Morton Matthew McCarver. He was a lifelong frontiersman of wonderful capacity. He founded Burlington, Iowa, in 1833 and 1834, and in 1843, he came to Oregon, where he took part in the reorganization of the provisional government. Becoming interested in prospective railroads, he figured out that Puget Sound was the best place for him. He bought and preëmpted all the lands he could on Commencement Bay, and then began his aggressive work of building a town. He persuaded the firm of Hanson, Ackerson and Company to build a sawmill there. Then he was preparing to file plats and begin the sale of town lots. He wanted an appropriate name. The place had been called Puyallup and Commencement City, but neither one suited. In September, 1868, Mr. Philip Ritz, a cultured man and scientific farmer, visited the place on a tour gathering information for the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. He had just been reading Theodore Winthrop's book, "The Canoe and the Saddle," in which that author declared that the Indian name for Mt. Rainier was "Tacoma." Mr. Ritz warmly advocated the choice of that name for the new town. General McCarver and his family became advocates of the name, but his partner, Lewis M. Starr, of Portland, did not like it. The general had his own way, and his son-in-law, C. P. Ferry, clever with the pen, changed "Commencement City" to "Ta-

[1] Thomas W. Prosch, "McCarver and Tacoma" (Seattle, Lowman and Hanford Stationery and Printing Company, 1906), p. 156.



MORTON MATTHEW MCCARVER



coma" on the plat before it was used for selling lots or for filing of record.

The southwest corner of northern Oregon had attracted a few pioneers before Washington Territory was organized. As early as 1848, the future Pacific County boasted of at least four white men — John Edmunds, an American; James Scarborough, an Englishman; John E. Pinknell, and a Captain Johnson. Gold hunters returning from California were detained in Baker Bay, and some of them entered Willapa Harbor by mistake. These men observed desirable locations for settlement. Doctor Elijah White, who has already figured in the missionary and provisional government portions of this work, now undertook to reap a harvest from the fame of these new sections. He platted "Pacific City" on Baker's Bay, and began to sell lots to numerous dupes. He was the original town-site boomer of the Northwest. He represented that his city had a park filled with deer. In one sense that was true, but the park was simply all out-of-doors He claimed his city had schoolhouses, handsome residences, and other attractions. Among the victims was James D. Holman, who spent $28,000 in building and furnishing a hotel. He awoke to his loss, deserted his hotel, and took up a claim for himself. When the surveys were made, the United States government took most of his claim for a military reservation. Twenty-nine years later he received from the government $25,000 as compensation, and he still had land enough to lay out a seaside resort which he named Ilwaco.

One of the Pacific City victims, Charles J. W. Russell, moved to Willapa Harbor, and in 1851 began the oyster industry, by shipping the luscious little bivalves to San Francisco. During 1852 and 1853, a good-sized colony had been planted on the shores of Willapa Harbor. Mr. Chapman's temporary home at "Chehalis City" on Grays Harbor has already received mention. The city of Montesano was first settled in 1852 by J. L. Scammon from the State of Maine.

A few settlers had disobeyed the military edict closing eastern Washington to the white men. Especially was this

true around Colville, where the mines had attracted a number of adventuresome prospectors. When General Harney removed that edict on the last day of October, 1858, a crowd of settlers swarmed into the region. By April, 1859, two thousand home-seekers and miners had spread over eastern Washington. Along the rapidly developed roads small hamlets grew, as Colfax and Pataha. Some of these developed into thriving trading centers, the future cities of the wealthy agricultural counties. The gold discoveries on the Fraser River and smaller finds on the rivers of Oregon drew many into and through those eastern lands. Around the new Fort Walla Walla grew a city, at first called Steptoe City, but later known as Walla Walla. This brisk trade of farmers and miners developed the city so rapidly that it soon rivalled The Dalles. Walla Walla was the outfitting point for the Oro Fino mines of Idaho, then a part of Washington, and in 1860 and 1861, thousands of men rushed to those fields. Their way led up the Snake River to the mouth of the Clearwater, and then along that stream and on into the diggings. At the mouth of the Clearwater a town developed with marvelous rapidity. It was named Lewiston in honor of Captain Meriwether Lewis. The later organization of Idaho Territory cut Lewiston out of Washington, but it is a pleasure to observe that just across the Snake River, on the Washington side, has recently developed a city which has received the name of Clarkston in honor of Captain William Clark. Thus Lewiston and Clarkston, though in different States, are now smiling at each other across a river discovered and explored by Captains Lewis and Clark.

H. E. Johnson was postmaster at Walla Walla during part of that gold excitement. He related to the writer an interesting reminiscence of those old days. Letters were carried to and fro from the miners by special riders at so much a letter, according to the distance. One of the carriers had little to say as he flung his mail-bag into the Walla Walla office, and handed Mr. Johnson his list of miners who wanted him to call for their mail. He usually whistled or hummed a tune to himself. His hair fell over his coat

collar in beautiful luxuriance. It was Joaquin Miller, who later became famous as the "Poet of the Sierras."

Acting Governor Henry McGill delivered the annual message to the Legislature on December 5, 1860, and submitted with it a number of explanatory documents. He called attention to the fact that all that portion of the Territory lying between the western boundary of Walla Walla County and the Cascade Mountains, embracing about four thousand six hundred and eighty square miles, was without any county organization. He also submitted with his commendation a petition asking for a new county. It was signed by two groups of men, one of twenty-nine who wrote as their home: "Flatt Head Agency, Fort Owen, B. R. Valley, W.T."; and the other of forty-eight hailing from "Cantonment Jordan St. Regis, Bergia River, Bitter Root Mountains." They asked that the new county be called Bitter Root. The proposed boundaries would embrace all of the present State of Idaho, and would also include part of Montana and a strip from northern Utah and Nevada between the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude. The reasons assigned were that they were then included in the county of Spokane, and being far removed from the county seat, it was difficult to preserve order and practically impossible to enforce the laws.[1] That document discloses some of the difficulties encountered in the evolution of a State. The mountain men, miners, and stock-raisers were clamorous for the organization of new counties. Their demands were met, in part, by the Legislature of Washington Territory. An examination of the laws creating new counties discloses some confusion of names and boundaries. On January 29, 1858, Spokane County was created, to comprise all the land west of the Rocky Mountains, east of the Columbia River, and north of the Snake River. On February 14, 1859, Oregon was admitted as a State with the present eastern boundary fixed. That threw into Spokane County all of southern Idaho and pieces of western Wyoming and Montana. On December 14, 1860, all of that country

[1] House Journal, Washington Territory, 1860–1861, pp. 35–36.

lying between 115° of longitude and the main ridge of the Rockies and between 46° and 49° of latitude was split off and designated Missoula County. On December 20, 1861, two new counties were created. The land bounded roughly by the Clearwater, the Bitter Root Mountains, the Salmon and Snake rivers, was called Nez Percé County, and all the land south of that county to the forty-second parallel of latitude was called Idaho County. Shoshone County had been created on January 9, 1861, including all of those two southern counties, but on December 21, 1861, the boundaries were greatly reduced, wedging Shoshone County back against the Bitter Root Mountains, north of the north fork of the Clearwater. By this time, the vast area that may here be designated as eastern Washington had begun to rival the Puget Sound region in population. Naturally enough they were opposed to looking longer toward Olympia for legislative favors and to making that long journey to transact public business. On January 29, 1861, there was brought up for consideration in the House of Representatives a memorial to Congress asking for the creation of the Territory of Walla Walla. It was lost on the final vote of twelve for and eighteen against, even though a number of western Washington men favored the plan.[1] But the eastern men were not disheartened. Petitions were circulated asking the Legislature to submit to the voters of Washington Territory a constitution for the proposed new State of Idaho. A bill carrying out this plan was passed by the council, but when it came up in the House on the last day of the session, Thursday, January 29, 1863, James Orr moved to insert the word "Washington" in the place of "Idaho." This was carried, and then, on motion of James Longmire, the bill was tabled. This ended one

[1] Washington House Journal, 1860–1861, pp. 410–411. Lewis Van Vleet, from Clark County, as a member of the committee having the memorial under consideration, reported: "The organization of a new territory east of the Cascades would operate injuriously to both the eastern and western portions of Territory, and I do not believe the interest of the two portions of our Territory are not different and distinct, but on the contrary are intimately connected together, and it would be to the injury of both sections of our Territory."

of the first moves toward statehood, and the pioneer citizens of those eastern mountains and valleys had been ruthlessly snubbed.[1] They then took their cause to Congress, where they obtained a prompt and much more favorable hearing. On March 3, 1863, a bill was passed creating the Territory of Idaho and giving to Washington Territory the eastern boundary which has remained unchanged to the present time.

All these acts diminished the area of Spokane County, and on January 19, 1864, the county was abolished by being annexed to Stevens County.[2] On October 30, 1879, a law was enacted re-creating Spokane County and placing the county-seat temporarily "at the town of Spokane Falls." A majority vote might change the location of the seat of county government at the next general election.[3] That vote was taken, but the way it was counted and settled comprises one of the most lively incidents in Territorial annals. There have been great rivalries in the past between the cities of Washington — such as the long and heated contest between Seattle and Tacoma, the race for size and business supremacy between Centralia and Chehalis, Sprague and Davenport. A little less than thirty years ago citizens of Seattle congratulated themselves that their city had reached the same population as Walla Walla, then the metropolis of the Territory. But the rivalry between Spokane and Cheney, though brief, surpassed all the others in the display of rude and rugged frontier methods.

One of the legislators who helped to reorganize Spokane County was Daniel F. Percival, who, a few months before his death, related to the writer the stirring events as he remembered them. In 1872, he spent two days fishing at Spokane Falls. There was not another white man there at the time, though that same year L. R. Scranton, J. J. Downing, and a man named Benjamin began the erection of a sawmill at the falls in anticipation of the advent of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Percival had gone north and

[1] Washington House Journal, 1862–1863, p. 220.
[2] Laws of Washington Territory, 1863–1864, p. 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1879, pp. 203–205.

located on some stock farms, about eight miles from the present Cheney, which was at first known as "Depot Springs." In 1873, James W. Glover, of Salem, Oregon, bought out the settlers at the falls for $4000 and formed a partnership with J. N. Matheny, of Salem, and Cyrus F. Yeaton, of Portland, to engage in the business of milling and merchandising. At that time Spokane County included Lincoln and Douglas counties, and in the whole area there was but about three hundred and fifty white people. Jay Cooke's failure had dampened immediate hope of the promised railroad, and business was not very prosperous. Considerable alarm was felt at the little settlement during the Indian outbreak known as the Nez Percé War of 1877. The tide of affairs changed in 1879, when the railroad line was resurveyed, Francis S. Cook established the *Spokane Times*, and A. M. Cannon started the Bank of Spokane Falls. In this same year Spokane Falls was named as the temporary capital of Spokane County.

Cheney entered into the race at the following election with evident determination to wrest that important honor from Spokane Falls. The *Northwest Tribune* was started, with L. E. Kellogg as editor. The press was set up under a tree, and fifteen horsemen were hired to scatter the papers over the county. Daniel Drumheller went out to see what the cattle men were going to do in the election, and reported to his Spokane colleagues that even the Indians were reading that paper. Cheney won, but Spangle precinct's vote was thrown out because the returns were not properly indorsed. Cheney raised $700, and hired John B. Allen and Thomas N. Caton, two of the best lawyers in the Territory. Judge Wingard decided in favor of a recount, but did not name a date. The Spokane people rejoiced, and all hands went to a dance. Probate Judge A. A. Smith, Auditor William Bishop, and Deptuy Sheriff Mike Hatton went armed to the temporary court-house, counted the votes, made out the record showing Cheney had won by a majority of seventy-one, and then started away with the official records and books in their arms. A watchman gave the alarm, and the dancers rushed out into the street, but the





UNITED STATES CRUISER *Tacoma*

county-seat had vanished and reached Cheney by daylight. The Cheney people kept an armed guard over the records for six weeks, until the excitement had subsided. Cheney was pugnacious in other ways. A theatrical troupe was bribed to play two extra days in Cheney, canceling the dates for Spokane. At a fair where everybody displayed the best grain and vegetables, a little wisp of poor barley was labelled: "From James W. Glover's Place." General J. W. Sprague exclaimed: "No wonder they fight. That would make anybody fight," when he threw the offending specimen on the floor. Spokane's progress was too rapid for Cheney, and in 1887 easily won the county-seat in another election. The people of Cheney as well as those of the entire State are now proud of the handsome city of Spokane—"Metropolis of the Inland Empire."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SAN JUAN DISPUTE

JAMES BUCHANAN and Richard Pakenham, when they signed the treaty of 1846 for the United States and Great Britain, did not realize that the words "middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island" would constitute an ambiguity leading to many years of heated wrangling and almost to war. At the time it was supposed that there was but one such channel, but it later developed that there were at least two. While the two governments were trying to solve the problem by commissions of surveyors, the islands between the two channels were occupied by sturdy settlers claiming allegiance to the one flag or the other. As a petty civil suit over a lost pig caused the Massachusetts colonial parliament to divide in 1644 into two houses, thus beginning the bicameral Legislature, so here, on the opposite side of the continent, more than two centuries later, trouble over a pig produced a crisis in the affairs of San Juan. Lyman A. Cutler planted some potatoes. Fourteen Americans watched those potatoes with great interest. The last survivor of the little colony, Charles McKay, has recently related the incident,[1] remarking: "While we had to go forty miles across the Strait in a rowboat, you will see that potatoes were potatoes." Charles J. Griffin, the representative of the Hudson Bay Company, had a pig which developed a great appetite for potatoes and spurned the rude fence around that American garden. Cutler told Griffin to keep that pig out of his potato-patch. Griffin told Cutler to keep the potatoes out of his pig. Cutler in anger took his rifle from the pegs

[1] Charles McKay, "History of San Juan Island" (in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*), Vol. II, pp. 290–293.



over the fireplace, and in a few moments was stalking toward the British farm, where he offered to pay for the pig he had left dead in the potato-patch. Griffin not only refused the proposed pay, but he threatened to send to Vancouver Island for a gunboat, to have Cutler arrested and carried away for trial in a British court. Submission to such treatment was about the last thing that would enter the mind of Cutler. He prepared his gun and ammunition for resistance. The other Americans felt it their duty to stand by their compatriot, but the British officers contented themselves with using abusive and threatening language as to what would happen if Cutler did not pay $100 for that pig. Without attempting to lay hands on the American, the officers and their posse left the island.

In late years an effort has been made to shift the responsibility of this trouble from the pig to some sheep. It is true that in the spring of 1855 Sheriff Barnes, of Whatcom County, went to San Juan Island to collect taxes. Payment being refused by the British subjects, the sheriff proceeded to carry away some sheep in lieu of the money demanded. James Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island, wrote on April 26, 1855, a strong letter of protest to Governor Stevens at Olympia, who, on May 12, sent an equally strong reply.[1] Governor Douglas threatened to carry the matter to his home government if the authorities of Washington Territory did not adjust the difficulty. On his part, Governor Stevens declared those islands to be a part of Whatcom County, and he would lay the whole case before the Secretary of State of the United States. Both governors expressed the hope that nothing should be done to precipitate trouble till the actual sovereignty over the islands could be determined. The very presence of those sheep on the islands had already caused a flurry of excitement. Isaac N. Ebey, collector of customs, paid a visit to the islands in the spring of 1854 to ascertain how the British had imported so many head of cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep without paying duties to

[1] Both letters are reproduced in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 7, 1906, and in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 352–356.

the United States. While encamped on the shore, the Hudson Bay Company's steamer *Otter* appeared. The British collector of customs, Sankster, landed and asked Ebey's business. Ebey replied that he was there in his official capacity, whereupon Sankster declared that he would arrest all vessels navigating west of Rosario Strait and north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. He ordered the British flag raised over the Hudson Bay Company buildings. He then informed Mr. Ebey that Governor Douglas was on board the *Otter* and invited Mr. Ebey to go on board to confer with him. This Mr. Ebey declined, but said he would be glad to receive a visit from the governor in his own tent. He furthermore declared that he would appoint a deputy collector of United States customs who would remain on the island and perform his duties there. Secretary of State W. L. Marcy, when he received information about these cases, wrote on July 14, 1855, a letter to Governor Stevens in which he advised a conciliatory and moderate course of action, and said he would ask the British authorities to make a similar request of their local officers until the boundary line could be adjusted "in a manner mutually satisfactory." [1]

It has been freely admitted that the British had considerable justice in their claims to a larger portion of Old Oregon than they received by the treaty of 1846, but when that treaty was concluded, the Canal de Haro became the boundary. After that, the British claims to the San Juan Archipelago contained as much of bravado and grasping boldness on the part of the Hudson Bay Company and its backers as there had been of downright bluster in the American cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" George Bancroft, the historian, was intimately associated with the case from beginning to end. As Secretary of the Navy in President Polk's Cabinet, he took keen interest in the negotiations culminating in the treaty of 1846. A recent biography [2] includes a number of letters showing fully

[1] "The Northwest Boundary" (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1868), pp. 144–145.

[2] M. A. DeWolfe Howe, "The Life and Letters of George Bancroft" (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908).



this interest at that time. On October 19, 1846, Mr. Boyd, chargé d'affaires ad interim of the United States at London, informed Secretary Buchanan that certain British subjects were contemplating a settlement on Whidbey Island, and the British government was apprehensive that such a settlement might create a difficulty over fixing the actual water boundary of the Northwest. On November 3, Mr. Bancroft, who had become Minister of the United States at London, sent home for copies of the Wilkes charts, and began negotiations to create an early and accurate idea on the part of the British officials as to where that boundary should be traced. He sent copies of his charts to Lord Palmerston with a note including: "The surveys extend to the line of 49°, and by combining the two charts your Lordship will readily trace the whole course of the channel of Haro, through the middle of which our boundary line passes." Lord Palmerston acknowledged that the charts would assist the commissioners "in determining where the line of boundary described in the first article of that treaty ought to run."[1] The first attempt to have commissioners mark the boundary failed, but in 1856, Congress gave the President authority. He appointed Archibald Campbell as commissioner and Lieutenant John G. Parke chief astronomer and surveyor. Great Britain was represented by Captain James C. Prevost, of the Royal Navy, as commissioner, and Captain Henry Richards, of the Royal Navy, as second commissioner. All but Captain Richards assembled at Victoria, and held their first meeting on June 27, 1857. Two years of work and negotiating resulted in nothing. The British commissioners would not acknowledge that in reaching the compromise boundary along the forty-ninth parallel, a deflection had been made simply to give the British the whole of Vancouver Island. They insisted on holding also the other islands as far east as Rosario Strait.

The Fraser River gold excitement had brought many Americans to the Northwest in 1858, and numbers of them, becoming disappointed in the quest of gold, had sought

[1] Moore, "Arbitrations," Vol. I, p. 216.

good locations for farms. The San Juan colony was mostly of such men. As the Fourth of July approached in that "Year of the Pig," 1859, the Americans reared a flagstaff and prepared for a celebration. Each of the fourteen delivered a brief oration, and they became so embued with patriotic fervor that they kept the Stars and Stripes fluttering in the breeze for several days. General W. S. Harney was visiting Puget Sound at that time, and seeing the flag on land he knew was in dispute, he landed to investigate. He heard of the pig and the attempt to arrest Cutler after he had offered pay for the animal. The Americans asked him to send troops to protect their interests. The general had already had an interview with Governor Stevens on the question of American ownership of those islands. Here was an excuse for action. General George B. McClellan is authority for the statement that the saving of San Juan Island was not the only motive of General Harney at that time. He says: "It is a fact not generally known, that the movements which are referred to here in the occupation of San Juan had their origin in a patriotic attempt on the part of General Harney, Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory, and other Democratic Federal officers on that coast, with the knowledge and zealous concurrence of Captain Pickett, to force a war with Great Britain, in the hope that by this means the then jarring sections of our country would unite in a foreign war, and so avert the civil strife which they feared they saw approaching." [1] Whatever his real motives may have been, on July 18, 1859, General Harney sent from Fort Vancouver orders to Lieutenant-colonel Silas Casey, commanding at Fort Steilacoom, by which it was directed that the United States steamer *Massachusetts* should be used for the immediate transfer of Captain Pickett's Company D of the Ninth Infantry from Fort Bellingham to the southeastern end of Bellevue or San Juan Island. Care was taken in those orders to mention the first object

[1] In appendix of "Pickett and his Men" by La Salle Corbell Pickett (Atlanta, Georgia, The Foote and Davies Company, 1900), pp. 426–427.



CAPTAIN GEORGE E. PICKETT
Commander of troops on San Juan Island



COLONEL J. PATTON ANDERSON
First United States Marshal of the Territory



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to be protection from the incursions of northern Indians, but to Captain Pickett he followed such instructions with the command to protect "American citizens in their rights as such." [1]

Captain Pickett acted with enthusiastic zeal and promptness. By July 27, he had moved his command of sixty-eight men and landed them on San Juan Island. This action speedily created an upheaval of excitement. On the same day the troops landed the British war-ship *Satellite* arrived from Vancouver Island bringing a British magistrate for San Juan Island. This was a move to punish Cutler and prevent the further assertion of American claims. The naval officers and the new magistrate were surprised to find the island in possession of freshly landed American troops. On the very day of landing, Captain Pickett issued a brief but pointed order, later called a proclamation. He declared his instructions to establish a post, called upon the inhabitants to notify him of any incursion of northern Indians, and closed as follows: "This being United States territory, no laws, other than those of the United States, nor courts, except such as are held by virtue of said laws, will be recognized or allowed on this island." [2] After the *Satellite* landed the magistrate and left, the war-ship *Tribune* arrived and remained in front of the American camp.

On July 30, Charles John Griffin, agent of the Hudson Bay Company, sent Captain Pickett an order to leave the island forthwith, claiming that the island was the property of, and was occupied by, the Hudson Bay Company. On the same day Captain Pickett replied that he did not acknowledge the right of the Hudson Bay Company to dictate his course of action. He was there by an order from his government, and would remain until recalled by the same authority.

August 3 was a strenuous day for Captain Pickett. His last letter of that date bore the hour "11 P.M." Three British war-ships — *Tribune*, *Plumper*, and *Satellite* — were

[1] "Northwestern Boundary," pp. 145–147. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

in front of his camp. He was warned off by the Hudson Bay Company agent, ordered to appear before Magistrate de Courcey, and besides, he says, "I had to deal with three captains, and I thought it better to take the brunt of it." The British commander threatened to land his overwhelming numbers and force the Americans off the island, to which Pickett, like a Spartan hero, replied that he would resist such landing as long as he had a man able to shoulder his musket. General Harney, reporting to headquarters this action of his captain, said: "The senior officer of three British ships-of-war threatened to land an overpowering force upon Captain Pickett, who nobly replied that whether they landed fifty or five thousand men, his conduct would not be affected by it; that he would open his fire, and, if compelled, take to the woods fighting; and so satisfied were the British officers that such would be his course, they hesitated in putting their threat into execution. For the cool judgment, ability, and gallantry which distinguished Captain Pickett in his command on San Juan Island, I most respectfully offer his name to the President of the United States for his notice, by preferment of a brevet, to date from the commencement of his service on San Juan Island." [1] When the spunky captain prepared to resist the landing of troops, Captain Geoffrey Phipps Hornby opened negotiations for a joint military occupation of the island. Captain Pickett replied that he could not assent to such an action until he had heard from his superior officer. Pickett then sent messengers asking for instructions and calling for reënforcements. General Harney ordered him to resist joint occupancy, and he also ordered Forts Townsend and Bellingham abandoned, and Lieutenant-colonel Casey gathered all available troops on Puget Sound. Although Pickett's camp was blockaded, Casey landed his troops in a fog, and then boldly steamed to the landing under the British guns, where he unloaded his supplies and ammunition. Colonel Casey now had about five hundred men under him on San Juan Island. One of his officers was Granville O. Haller,

[1] "Northwest Boundary," p. 162.



who recently died in Seattle after a long career as a pioneer of Puget Sound. Before landing on San Juan Island, he had successfully punished the Lummi Indians for misdeeds at Whatcom. "Major Haller was in command of the forces when General Scott arrived — the senior officer, Colonel Silas Casey, being absent on duty." [1]

In the meantime the excitement on Vancouver Island was intense. Governor Douglas issued a proclamation on August 2, 1859, declaring British sovereignty over San Juan Island and "the whole of the Haro Archipelago." On the next day he sent a strongly worded address to the Council and House of Assembly of the colony of Vancouver Island. On August 12, the House of Assembly replied to this address, and five days later the *British Colonist* of Victoria published the debate, and in an editorial, demanded information as to why British troops were not landed on San Juan Island. Besides much bluster about the invasion of British soil, the answer of the House to the message of Governor Douglas included this paragraph: "The weakness of the colony is its greatest danger, and, at the same time, an inducement for the repetition of similar offenses by similar persons. Let it, therefore, be urged upon her Majesty's government that sending out colonists rapidly from Great Britain is the surest way, not only of maintaining peace, but of preserving intact her Majesty's possessions. Coupled with this, the House would propose that free and liberal grants of land be given to such emigrants after settling thereon for a certain time." [2] The weakness referred to was especially real at that time. The British settlements were overrun by American miners attracted by the Fraser River gold-fields. Many of these were ready to revive the cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" Washington Territory had just put down an Indian war, and could quickly summon an army of experienced volunteers. In fact Governor Gholson informed

[1] Theodore N. Haller, "Life and Public Services of Colonel Granville O. Haller, Soldier, Citizen, and Pioneer," in the *Washington Historian*, Vol. I, p. 106.

[2] "Northwestern Boundary," p. 176.

General Harney as to the amount of arms the Territory had, and the general sent large supplies of ammunition to Fort Steilacoom to be ready in case of an emergency. However, it was not fear that controlled British action. Governor Douglas had great authority with the government, with the Hudson Bay Company, and was a vice-admiral of the Royal Navy. He was willing and apparently anxious to employ force at this crisis. But Rear-admiral Robert Lambert Baynes was commander-in-chief of the British navy in the Pacific. When he arrived at Esquimalt in his flag-ship *Ganges*, he took up the San Juan case with caution. It is claimed that he declared he would not take the responsibility of shedding blood and plunging two nations into war for the possession of an island in that remote part of the world. Without the naval force the British authorities knew that they would be powerless against the Americans.

As these events were transpiring, General Harney kept up a constant communication with army headquarters in the East. It took a long time for dispatches going by way of San Francisco and the Isthmus to reach their destination. The reply to General Harney's first dispatch of July 19 was dated at Washington City on September 3. But the authorities at the capital acted quickly. President James Buchanan, who, as Secretary of State, had signed the treaty of 1846, was deeply interested in that boundary question, but he was far from desiring a war with Great Britain. Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the army, was hastily sent to San Juan with full instructions and large discretionary powers. He arrived at Fort Vancouver on October 20, had a conference with General Harney, and on October 25, sent from Fort Townsend his first communication to Governor Douglas. He remained on Puget Sound until November 10, during which time he arranged to cut down the number of American troops on San Juan Island and to allow the British to land an equal number on the other end of the island. He replaced Captain Pickett with Captain L. C. Hunt as commander of the American garrison. The steamer on

which he departed for San Francisco put into the Columbia River on account of a defective boiler. From St. Helens, Oregon, he wrote General Harney a remarkable letter, saying he was going to urge the two departments on the Pacific to be thrown back into one. He knew that General Harney preferred to be in St. Louis, and as the British government would probably demand his (Harney's) removal from his present command, it would be a relief to the President to find that General Harney had left that command by his own act. General Scott then gave an order to be used if General Harney wished, adding: "If you decline the order, and I give you leave to decline it, please throw it into the fire."

Evidently the fire into which General Harney threw that order was a political one. The legislative assembly of Washington Territory on January 7, 1860, unanimously passed a long set of whereases and resolutions, reviewing the whole situation, protesting against the proposal to abandon the northern department of the army and warmly recommending General Harney's course of action. In another resolution on January 11, the thanks of the people of Washington Territory were extended to Captain Pickett "for the gallant and firm discharge of his duties under the most trying circumstances while he was in command on the Island of San Juan." [1] That this sentiment of the people coincided with his own is made evident by General Harney's orders of April 10, 1860, by which he removed Captain Hunt and replaced Captain Pickett in command of San Juan Island. When these orders reached Lieutenant-general Scott in May, he sent them to the Secretary of War with a note showing his chagrin at being thus reversed by a subordinate officer. His note included the following: "If this does not lead to a collision of arms, it will again be due to the forbearance of the British authorities; for I found both Brigadier-general Harney and Captain Pickett proud of their *conquest* of the island, and quite jealous of any interference therewith on the part of higher authority. I beg it may further be remem-

[1] Laws of Washington Territory, 1859–1860, p. 514.

bered that I intimated a doubt to the War Department whether Brigadier-general Harney would carry out my pacific arrangement, respecting the occupation of the island, with good faith, or even with courtesy, and hence one of my reasons for wishing to relieve him from his command." [1] On June 8, John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, issued an order for Brigadier-general Harney "to repair to Washington City without delay." Captain Pickett was not disturbed by this order. He remained in command until he heard that his native State of Virginia had left the Union. Then he reluctantly resigned and hurried to the Southland. There he gained renown as a leader of Confederate infantry, reaching the climax of his military career in the famous charge at Gettysburg.

In conformity with General Scott's proposal, Rear-admiral Baynes in March, 1860, placed on the north end of San Juan Island a detachment of Royal Marines equal in number to the American troops on the island. They were in command of Captain George Bazalgette. Far from there being a collision as foretold by General Scott, the two camps of soldiers soon began to fraternize. An interesting incident of this is told by Charles McKay, the blacksmith: "Then we had peace and had lots of fun. The English company would invite the American soldiers to their camp and have great feasts. Then the American soldiers would invite the English soldiers to their camp and thought they would outdo them in feasting. So they filled the Englishmen with all that could be furnished until they knew they could not eat any more. Then they cleared off the tables and the waiters came in with piles of plates in their arms, and the Englishmen asked:—

"'What are you going to do?'

"'We are going to serve the balance of our feast.'

"'Bloody my eyes! We can't eat any more!'

"'Well, if you can't eat any more, the waiters will carry away the dishes.'

"The writer [McKay] was invited to that feast and knew

[1] "Northwest Boundary," pp. 212–213.

of the trick. There was not another thing to put on the table, but the bluff worked well." [1]

Yet all was not play and feasting in the years that followed, nor was their whole interest centered in drills and the work of building fortifications, quarters, fences, and gardens. On September 20, 1867, Deputy United States Marshal Jared C. Brown wrote a letter to Secretary of State William H. Seward, who referred it to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, who, in turn, asked General U. S. Grant to investigate and report. When finally sifted, it was found there was a serious clash between the civil authorities of Washington Territory and the United States military force on San Juan Island. Brevet Major Graves had been arrested and heavily fined for resisting civil jurisdiction on the island, and Captain Gray was fined $5000 for a similar offense. Captain Gray's offense was resisting arrest. A citizen claiming land on the island built a fence across the road from the fort to the landing in the harbor. Refusing to remove it and continuing to make trouble, Captain Gray ejected him from the island. Suit was brought in the United States District Court, and Judge C. B. Darwin sent a sheriff to arrest the captain. The sheriff returned empty-handed, and was ordered to summon a posse and bring the man into court. When even this failed, the judge issued a writ of capias to the sheriffs of all the counties of the Third Judicial District ordering them to enforce the decree of his court. In the meantime a strong movement was on foot to have Judges Hewitt and Darwin removed from office. Bancroft says: "Darwin was a scholarly judge, which Hewitt was not; but Hewitt was honest, which Darwin was not." [2] The soldiers continued to exercise authority on San Juan Island in spite of courts and sheriffs. The settlers on the island enjoyed immunity from taxes and customs duties. It is probable that some of them grossly abused their peculiar situation on account of the inability of the United States customs laws to reach them. There was an import duty on wool.

[1] In *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, p. 292.
[2] H. H. Bancroft, Works, Vol. XXXI, p. 279.

The San Juan settlers were sending such quantities of wool to market that the customs officers suspected they were smuggling much of it from British growers on Vancouver Island. Unable to catch them in this, they made a census of the sheep on San Juan Island, which disclosed the fact that those wonderful sheep were each producing more than one hundred and fifty pounds of wool at every clipping season.

While the trouble over the military occupation was going on at San Juan, Secretary of State Lewis Cass and Lord Lyons, the British Minister, were trying to negotiate a treaty or settlement of the case on behalf of the two governments. On December 10, 1860, Lord Lyons suggested arbitration, naming as arbitrator the king of the Netherlands, the king of Sweden and Norway, or the president of Switzerland. This was not acted upon, and the war between the States intervening, no further effort was made until 1869, when United States Minister Reverdy Johnson concluded with Lord Clarendon a treaty to submit the San Juan case to the arbitration of the president of the Swiss Confederation. The Senate would not act on this treaty because the arbitrator was given the authority to draw a new line if, in his judgment, neither the Canal de Haro or the Rosario Strait would conform to the intent of the original treaty. George Bancroft wrote from Europe to the Secretary of State warning against such a provision as implying on our part an admission that the Canal de Haro was not the only proper boundary. The Joint High Commission of 1871 had many problems to settle, and one of the most troublesome of all was the adjustment of the long-pending dispute over the possession of the San Juan Archipelago.[1] It was agreed to submit this case to arbitration if the other cases before the commission could first be adjusted. When the great treaty

[1] One member of the commission was former United States Senator George H. Williams of Oregon, who still lives in Portland, and was recently mayor of that city. President Grant appointed him chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, but the Senate refused to confirm the appointment.

of Washington was concluded on May 8, 1871, it was found that the commission had selected as arbitrator of the San Juan case William I of the recently united German Empire. Great Britain was to be represented in prosecuting the case to the court of arbitration by Admiral James C. Prevost, who, as a captain of the Royal Navy, had served as a member of the boundary commission in 1857 to 1859. He was, of course, familiar with the ground and the claims. The representative of the United States was the Minister at Berlin, George Bancroft. In his opening address, the aged historian mentioned that members of the British and American Cabinets who had participated in making the original treaty of 1846, the President and Vice-president and all the Cabinet officers, except one, had passed away. "I alone remain," said he, "and after finishing the three score years and ten that are the days of our years, am selected by my country to uphold its rights. Six times the United States had received the offer of arbitration on their northwestern boundary, and six times had refused to refer a point where the importance was so great and the right so clear. But when consent was obtained to bring the question before your Majesty, my country resolved to change its policy, and in the heart of Europe, before a tribunal from which no judgment but a just one can emanate, to explain the solid foundation of our demand, and the principles of moderation and justice by which we have been governed. The case involves questions of geography, of history, and of international law; and we are glad that the discussion should be held in the midst of a nation whose sons have been trained in those sciences by a Carl Ritter, a Ranke, and a Heffter." [1] By June 11, 1872, the last papers in the case were filed with Emperor William, who called to his assistance German specialists. On October 21, 1872, he rendered his decision, declaring the Canal de Haro to be the right boundary. One year later, on October 31, 1873, the Legislature of

[1] John Bassett Moore, "History and Digest of International Arbitrations," Vol. I, p. 228.

Washington Territory created, of the islands thus secured, the county of San Juan.

On the anniversary of Emperor William's award, October 21, 1904, the Washington University State Historical Society, with extensive and appropriate ceremonies, unveiled a monument at each of the two military camps. General Hazard Stevens, whose father had been so effective in the early stages of the case, could not be present at those ceremonies, but he sent a letter as follows: —

"I had the last act in the San Juan controversy. In 1874, President Grant appointed me commissioner on the claims of British subjects on the San Juan Archipelago. Having given notice at every post-office on the islands of my appointment and opportunity offered to present claims, I proceeded to the islands with a revenue cutter, secretary, and inspector, and visited every settlement and made diligent search for claims. It appeared, however, that there were none, all the former British subjects having become American citizens and taken their lands under the American land laws. This fact enabled me to make a very satisfactory report to the President and Secretary of State, who were very glad to find that the long-drawn-out dispute was finally ended."



MONUMENTS AT BRITISH AND AMERICAN CAMPS ON SAN JUAN ISLAND



CHAPTER XXIV

INFLUENCES OF GOLD AND WAR

THE impartial winds fluttered the rival banners over the soil of San Juan for more than a decade of years. During that time the Territory of Washington had passed through the period of childhood, and many believed the youth was even approaching maturity. They began to talk of statehood. Many events had combined to give an energizing impetus to American life on the Pacific coast. As the Mexican War was ending, the mill-race in Sutter's New Helvetia produced some yellow particles, one of which Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, then in California, pounded flat with a hatchet and an ax, pronouncing it gold.[1] The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, confirming our title to the vast domain newly conquered, was signed February 2, 1848, but before it was ratified by the Senate in May, Samuel Brannan, the Mormon leader, had entered San Francisco, which was just supplanting the Spanish village of Yerba Buena. With evident excitement he, "holding a bottle of dust in one hand, and swinging his hat with the other, passed along the street shouting, 'Gold! Gold! Gold from the American River!'"[2]

The excitement was contagious. It pervaded many parts of the civilized world. Eighty thousand men rushed to California in one year. Men of every kind were there; deeds of every kind were done. Professor Royce, after studying the annals of that early period, philosophizes as follows: "Whoever wants merely an eulogistic story of the glories of the pioneer life of California must not look for

[1] "Memoirs of General William T. Sherman by Himself" (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1875), Vol. I, p. 40
[2] H. H. Bancroft, Works, Vol. XXIII, p. 56.

Whoever is too tender-souled to see any significance in events that involve much ...ness, brutality, and lust must find his ... satisfied elsewhere. But whoever knows ... the best things of man is a struggle ... passions of man, and that every signifi... process is full of such struggles, is ready ... true interest of scenes amid which ... seemed to have lapsed into semi-... While those lapses and struggles, those ... atures, were being enacted in California, ... over the solution of an immense ... Clay's Compromise of 1850. For many ... known, Congress had debated the Oregon ... a short time before, in 1848, had given ... form of government. But, under the im... gold, California was allowed, Minerva... applied from the fields of war into the ... Oregon, the original American common... had to spend eight years more in ... Though seemingly unfair, there is ... this. Half of Oregon's citizens had ... for that land of gold.

... and Washington benefited immensely ... development of California. Splen... opened for all the North could offer, ... of timber products. Before a decade ... River gold excitement diverted part ... stream of miners to the north, and at the ... along the rivers of Oregon and in ... Idaho created new camps and brought ... and caravans of men. Fruit and ... wheat and fruit and lumber, fish and ... Washington, proved attractive after ... stripped from the gold quest. When ... now officially known as the war between

... Oregonia," in American Commonwealths ... Mifflin and Company, 1891), p. 222.



SAL1/2



Lieutenant U. S. Grant

the States, absorbed the interest and strength of the nation, the Pacific coast commonwealths had settled down to the sober tasks of industrial development. Washington, youngest of the Territories, in the extreme northwestern corner of the republic, could not expect to share very largely in the war, and yet there were many reasons aside from that of American citizenship to cause the people here to watch with closest interest the progress of events. General Grant had been at Fort Vancouver in 1853.[1] General Sheridan had fought Indians in the Yakima Valley and at the Cascades blockhouse in 1855 and 1856. Governor Stevens, after his two terms as delegate to Congress, had hurried to the front, and was winning rapid promotion when he fell leading his men in a desperate charge at the battle of Chantilly on September 1, 1862. General George B. McClellan had tried but failed to survey a wagon road across the Cascade Mountains in 1854. Captain Wilkes, who captured the Confederate commissioners Mason and Slidell from the British steamer *Trent*, had surveyed Puget Sound in 1841. The first United States marshal of Washington Territory and second delegate to Congress, J. Patton Anderson, was a delegate from Florida to both constitutional conventions of the Confederate States, and later became a leader in the Southern Army. General George E. Pickett, who led the famous charge at Gettysburg, was the gallant captain of the San

[1] The portrait of Grant here reproduced was engraved on steel by A. H. Ritchie, N.A., from a daguerreotype taken in 1843 while Grant was a brevet second lieutenant of the Fourth Infantry, at the age of twenty-one years. It appears as the frontispiece of Volume I of "Grant's Memoirs." In the same volume, page 210, the general says: "My family, all this while [1852–1854], was at the East. It consisted now of a wife and two children. I saw no chance of supporting them on the Pacific coast out of my pay as an army officer. I concluded, therefore, to resign, and in March applied for a leave of absence until the end of the July following, tendering my resignation to take effect at the end of that time. I left the Pacific coast very much attached to it, and with the full expectation of making it my future home. That expectation and that hope remained uppermost in my mind until the lieutenant-generalcy bill was introduced into Congress in the winter of 1863–1864. The passage of that bill, and my promotion, blasted my last hope of ever becoming a citizen of the further *West*."

Juan Island episode. Through the deeds of these and other former citizens, Washington could feel some thrill of contact with the great events.

There were a few occasions of more direct participation. The women of the Territory took an active interest in the work of the Sanitary Commission. They held many meetings to prepare clothing and hospital supplies for the soldiers. Arthur A. Denny made the statement that, in proportion to their numbers, the women of Washington Territory did more work of this kind than those of any other State or Territory in the Union. The War Department issued an order on October 18, 1861, directing Colonel Justus Steinberger to enlist a regiment of volunteers in Washington Territory and the contiguous States, and to appoint the officers with the consent of the governor of Washington Territory. The regiment was to be known as the First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry. Ten companies, comprising nine hundred and sixty-four men, were mustered in at Alcatrez Island and San Francisco, California, and at Fort Vancouver and Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory. These companies served at Pacific coast army posts throughout the war, being mustered out in 1866. The Legislature gave public approval of this regiment, and presented it with a stand of colors. By guarding the posts and furnishing protection against possible attacks from Indians, the regiment rendered service that would otherwise have called for detachments of the regular army. Colonel Steinberger was later stationed, as paymaster in the regular army, at Helena, Montana, where on October 12, 1870, he was thrown from his horse and fatally injured. One of the survivors of the regiment is Doctor George W. Easterbrook of Portland, Oregon, who was a musician in Company F, and later in Company E. He says his company was finally discharged at Fort Vancouver on July 8, 1865.[1]

The archives of Washington Territory for this period occasionally reveal an outburst of turgid eloquence, reliev-

[1] Letter in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 37–38.



ing the tedium of the dusty annals. The Legislature of 1860–1861 adopted resolutions pledging fidelity and support to the newly inaugurated administration of Abraham Lincoln. On the evening of the last day of the session, January 31, 1861, a vote of thanks was extended to the officers and clerks of the Legislature. Then, while the bills were being enrolled, the House went into a committee of the whole to hear the speeches in reply to that vote. When the committee arose, Chairman Albert Pingree offered the following report:[1]—

"Mr. Speaker: The committee of the whole have been highly entertained by the eloquent and high-toned remarks of Hon. Lyman Shaffer, Speaker of the House, J. W. Johnson, Esq., and Wm. H. Watson, Esq., and trust, in the language of Mr. Johnson, 'that the Star-spangled Banner may for untold centuries wave over the National Capitol, and a National Congress assembled beneath its ample folds, sit to deliberate on the interest of a mighty and ocean-bound confederation, over which the American eagle flaps his wings; and that the American bird may soar aloft, and with his beak resting on the north pole, one wing in the Altantic and the other in the Pacific, fan the tropical clime with his tail; rejoicing that the prophecy of Napoleon Bonaparte has been fulfilled; that Continental Europe dare not fire a gun without permission of the United States.'"

It is well known that the war policy of the North was to stimulate the development of properties that would later yield taxes and revenues, helping to pay the expense and debt of the war. Under this head come the acts granting lands to new railroads, homesteads to settlers, and aid to agricultural colleges. One such act is of singular importance here, as it was used but once, and then in the Territory of Washington. On March 3, 1863, there was approved an act of Congress "for increasing the revenue by reservations and sale of town sites on public lands." The passage of that act was secured by Victor Smith. As a newspaper man at work for the *Cincinnati*

[1] House Journal, 1860–1861, p. 451.

Commercial, Mr. Smith had acquired the friendship of Salmon P. Chase. When Mr. Chase entered the Lincoln Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, he sent Mr. Smith to Puget Sound as special agent of the Treasury Department and collector of customs. He became infatuated with the beautiful surroundings of Port Angeles, and caused the custom-house to be moved there from Port Townsend. He then conceived the idea of allowing the United States to reap a profit and to build a model city while doing so. This could surely be done at Port Angeles, and, if so, why not elsewhere in the republic? So the act of Congress was secured and made general in terms that the government might enter the town-site business anywhere on public lands. Previous to this, on June 19, 1862, President Lincoln had issued an order making a large reserve at Port Angeles for lighthouse and military purposes. This reserve comprised three thousand five hundred and twenty acres. After the law of 1863, a portion of the reserve was set aside for lighthouse purposes, and the balance of the land was placed in a town-site reserve under the new law. It is the only case in which the law was used, and Port Angeles people call theirs the Second National City, the first one being Washington. Mr. Smith's removal of the custom house from Port Townsend and his ideas and actions about town sites and lands created a furore of opposition until President Lincoln removed him from office. This brought about a clash between the President and his Secretary of the Treasury, creating a breach that never was wholly healed.[1] Mr. Smith took his removal in good part and remained a friend of Port Angeles until he lost his life in the wreck of the *Brother Jonathan* in 1865. The custom-house was moved back to Port Townsend. The town-site reserve proved an incubus to Port Angeles that was not removed until January, 1894. Then Captain W. D. O'Toole, register of the United States Land Office at Seattle, and other officers proceeded under new acts of Congress to sell the town-site lots to the highest

[1] Albert Bushnell Hart, "Salmon P. Chase," in the Statesmen's Series (Boston, Hougnton, Mifflin and Company, 1899), pp. 305–307.



Colonel Justus D. Steinberger



bidders. Captain Thomas H. Bradley wrote a full historical account of the reserve and the auction sale, which he published under the title of "O'Toole's Mallet; or the Resurrection of the Second National City of the United States of America."

The war time witnessed another singular development growing out of the scarcity of white women in the new settlements of Washington Territory. Charles Prosch, the veteran editor, was publishing the *Puget Sound Herald* at Steilacoom. On October 22, 1858, his paper contained an editorial on "A Good Wife," in which he pointed out one of the greatest needs of the Territory, saying: "There is probably no community in the Union of a like number of inhabitants, in which so large a proportion are bachelors. We have no spinsters." On August 26, 1859, the same editor again urged this need and proclaimed: "Here is the market to bring your charms to, girls. Don't be backward, but come right along — all who want good husbands and comfortable homes in the most beautiful country and the finest climate of the world." Such plain talk in print caused the newspapers in the East to comment on the situation. Still nothing but talk resulted until Asa S. Mercer arrived in Seattle, fresh from college, in 1861. He became the first president of the Territorial University and taught the first term of five months. At the end of that time he had matured a plan to meet the needs of the Territory by going to New England and persuading girls, made orphans by the war, to emigrate to Puget Sound and become school-teachers and seamstresses. Out of many who promised but eleven sailed from New York in March, 1864. They crossed the Isthmus, and arriving at San Francisco, they took passage in the bark *Torrent*, Captain Carlton, for Port Gamble. From that port they were brought to Seattle on the sloop *Kidder*, arriving on May 16, 1864. This was the first group of the "Mercer Girls." Not many remained school-teachers. Nearly all soon became the wives of pioneers, and their children are among the intelligent, forceful, and efficient citizens of the present day. Mr. Mercer was honored by



election to the Upper House of the Territorial Legislature, and after serving through that session, he hurried on to complete his work by bringing out three hundred women — widows and orphans of the war. Years afterward, in 1901, Mr. Mercer wrote of his experiences.[1] He knew there were many such women in the Eastern States; that the government had many idle ships and seamen. He would appeal to the President. "Having sat upon Lincoln's lap as a five-year-old lad," said he, "and listened to his funny stories, and knowing the goodness of his heart, not a shadow of doubt existed in my mind as to the outcome." But on Mercer's arrival in New York he saw crepe everywhere, and learned that the President had been assassinated the night before. "I was at sea without a compass," is the wail of the young man. He found friends in Governor John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, and in General U. S. Grant. The United States steamer *Continental* was appraised at $80,000, but this was a staggering sum to raise. Ben Holladay took the contract off Mercer's hands, but later applied rather swindling tactics. The *New York Herald* attacked the whole scheme, and warned the women not to go to Washington Territory. Mercer used all the money he could get from friends, and finally arrived at Seattle in the spring of 1866, the second company of immigrants arriving from San Francisco in groups of ten to twenty. The second immigration comprised ninety-five persons, including a number of men with their families. They have long since been listed among the prominent families of old settlers.

At the close of the war, its horrors were brought closer to the homes on Puget Sound by the ravages of a rapacious sea-wolf. Captain Waddell, of the Confederate privateer *Shenandoah*, did not seek a conflict with any Union combatant, but sought, instead, the peaceful and unarmed whalers and merchantmen of the northern Pacific. "The

[1] Clarence B. Bagley, "The Mercer Immigration; Two Cargoes of Maidens for the Sound Country," in the quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. V, pp. 1–24. The Mercer letter is here given in full, with other documents.



first intimation of the *Shenandoah's* advent in northern seas was in the early part of the summer [1865], when the whaler *Milo* reached San Francisco with one hundred and ninety men from vessels burned by the commander of the *Shenandoah*, who seemed to have no particular desire to profit by his prizes, but was apparently imbued with a fiendish purpose to destroy everything that fell into his hands."[1] When he became incumbered with prisoners, he would crowd them into one of his captured vessels and send them adrift with scant provisions. He coolly informed one such load of hapless captives that when they ran out of other provisions, they could eat one another. In all he captured thirty-eight such helpless ships. Eight of them he released with loads of captives. The others he scuttled or burned at sea. One of his Yankee prisoners told him the war was ended, but he would not believe such improbable news until he had it from a British captain. The prisoner's ship was then burned, and the cruise was continued. At last he met, on August 2, the British bark *Barracouta*, fourteen days from San Francisco, and learning that the war really was ended, he stored his guns and shaped his course for Europe. The *Shenandoah* was the only ship to carry the Stars and Bars of the Confederacy around the globe. On November 6, he surrendered the ship to the premier of Great Britain, by whose orders she was turned over to a consul of the American government. Thirty-six telltale ships' chronometers were found in the ship. A statement of the prizes showed the thirty-eight vessels and cargoes captured had a value of $1,172,223. Captain Waddell closes a lengthy account of his cruise with these words: "The last gun in the defense of the South was fired from her deck on the 22d of June, Arctic Ocean. She ran a distance of 58,000 statute miles and met with no serious injury during a cruise of thirteen months. Her anchors were on her bows for eight months. She never lost a chase, and was second only to the celebrated *Alabama*. I claim for her officers and men a

[1] E. W. Wright, editor, "Marine History of the Pacific Northwest (Portland, The Lewis and Dryden Printing Company, 1895), p. 141.

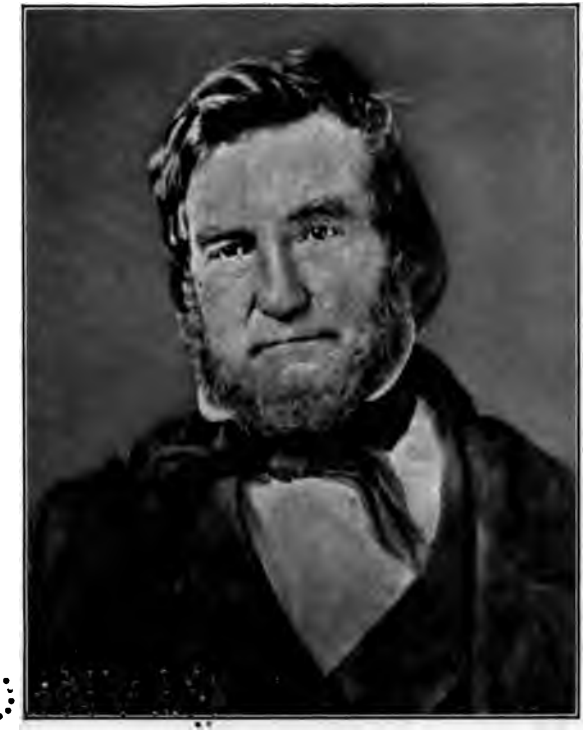
triumph over their enemies and over every obstacle, and for myself, I claim having done my duty." [1] One effect of the alarm created in Washington Territory by the exploits of the *Shenandoah* is found in the joint resolutions and memorials adopted by the Legislature in 1866 to 1868, asking Congress to provide fortifications, a naval station, and an arsenal for Puget Sound. Captain James Iredell Waddell returned to the Pacific after the war. He became commander of the Pacific Mail Company's steamer *San Francisco* plying between Yokohama and San Francisco. On May 16, 1877, the steamer struck on a rock and was sunk. All hands were saved, the captain being the last one to leave his ship.

The "War Governor" of Washington Territory appointed by Abraham Lincoln was William Pickering, who served from 1862 to 1866. Although he had very little to do in comparison with the enormous labors of such governors in the Northern and Southern States of the East, he proved an acceptable executive, whose memory is cherished by the pioneers of those days. Just before he turned the reins of government over to his successor, George E. Cole, he delivered his last message to the Legislature on December 11, 1866. As usual he referred to the needs of the Territory, laying special stress on the advisability of opening a highway across the Cascade Range through the Snoqualmie Pass. He then stated that Secretary of State William H. Seward had sent him for distribution a number of pamphlets about the "greatest fair ever held on earth, the Paris Exposition of 1867." He was delighted to inform the legislators that he had arranged with Mr. Thomas Craney, of the firm of Grennan and Craney, to send from Utsalady on the ship *Belmont*, Captain Hurrol, a flag-staff one hundred and fifty feet long, twenty-four inches in diameter at the largest end, sixteen inches in the middle, and eleven inches in diameter at the top. It was originally two hundred feet long, but it

[1] Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1896), Series I, Vol. III, p. 836.



WILLIAM H. WALLACE
He declined the Governorship when elected as Delegate to Congress in 1861



WILLIAM PICKERING
War Governor of Washington Territory, 1862–1866



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had to be cut down to fit the hold of the ship. "Thus it will be impossible," said the governor, "for us to convey to the hundreds of thousands and millions who will congregate in Paris between March 1st to December, 1867, a true idea of the magnitude of our timber trees, but shorn of its fair proportions as it is, by its being shortened full fifty feet, the glorious flag of our beloved country will float from its top, to the admiration of all visitors, far above the emblems and banners of any other nation." [1]

During these years the political life of the Territory had experienced a revolution, the Whigs and Union Democrats, joining forces as the new Republican party, wrested victory from the dominant Democratic party. Social activity was manifested by the organization of schools and churches, the incorporation of libraries, temperance societies, and lodges. Industrial growth was present everywhere. The rivers and harbors were furnished with little steamers. Ship-building was begun, and lumber exports pointed the way toward future wealth. Coal found a ready market. Fish and oysters were in demand. California to the south, Alaska to the north, the islands and the Orient on the highway of the sea, — every one knew that Washington had a magnificent future. To hurry the dawning of that great day of prosperity, was the ambition alike of the patient pioneer and the impulsive newcomer. The one surest way to hasten that day was the construction of a railroad from the Mississippi River to tide-water on Puget Sound. Ever since the surveys by Governor Stevens in 1853 that northern route was known to be practicable. The people agitated the question in every way they could, and at the end of twenty years seemed on the point of realizing their great desires when the Jay Cooke failure blighted their hopes. These were soon rallied, however, and both political parties put planks in their platforms asking that the Northern Pacific Railroad Company be granted an extension of time in which to earn the extensive land grants by the completion of the road.

[1] House Journal, Washington Territory, 1866–1867, p. 25.

There arose in this period another effort to dismember the Territory of Washington, which met with a countermove, very similar in effect to that in 1862, when the miners had projected the idea of a new Territorial organization for eastern Washington and northern Idaho. Several times after that the Washington Legislature memorialized Congress to replace the "panhandle" of Idaho under the government of Washington. After such a memorial in 1873, it was discovered that there was another scheme of a separate Territory. This caused an awakening in the struggle for statehood. In 1867, the Legislature had started the work of agitation for admission as a State. The people took little notice of it. Nearly every succeeding Legislature submitted the question to the people, but the vote was always negative or at best inadequate. After this new scheme of "dismemberment" was discovered, the Legislature of 1875 again submitted statehood to the people. This time seven thousand voted at the election of 1876, and the majority in favor of framing a constitution for submission to the approval of Congress was over four thousand. The following Legislature passed the necessary law. Governor Elisha P. Ferry issued his proclamation, and delegates were elected for the constitutional convention to meet in Walla Walla in June, 1878. The convention was in session from June 11 to July 27, on which day seventeen delegates signed the completed document. The names thus affixed were: Alex. S. Abernethy, president; Lyman B. Andrews, Charles M. Bradshaw, Benj. F. Dennison, Edward Eldridge, Francis Henry, S. M. Gilmore, Wyatt A. George, H. B. Emery, D. B. Hannah, C. H. Larrabee, Oliver P. Lacy, Alonzo Leland, James V. O'Dell, George H. Steward, Sylvester M. Wait, and W. Byron Daniels, secretary. Mr. Leland and Mr. O'Dell were from the northern counties of Idaho.

At the next election the people adopted the constitution, and the new delegate to Congress, Thomas H. Brents, urged the admission of the new State as soon as he could be heard. Congress refused. Although it was unthinkable at that time, there yet remained a little more than a





GEORGE E. COLE
1866-1867



MARSHALL F. MOORE
1867-1869

Territorial Governors of Washington



decade of Territorial experience for Washington. The constitution of 1878 is, therefore, useful only as a document of history, revealing the crystallized political thought of that time. The proposed State would have included all of the present State of Washington, and, in addition, all of Idaho north of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. Unable to get woman suffrage and local option into the body of the document, the advocates of those measures had them tacked on as separate articles to be adopted or rejected by the people. Education received ample attention in the way of government support, safe-guarding the granted school lands, and "no sectarian doctrines shall ever be taught in the public schools in this State." [1] The authorization of lotteries, the granting of divorces by legislation, and all forms of special legislation were prohibited. The finances of the State were provided for and protected in the twenty-two sections of Article XII. One experiment to be tried was in the method of electing members of the Legislature: "Each qualified elector may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected in the district, or he may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof, among the candidates, as he shall see fit; and the candidates highest in votes shall be elected. But the Legislature may at any time after the year 1890 adopt the system known as the preferential system, in the election of representatives, and enact such laws as will be necessary to carry it into effect."

The latest move for dismemberment was the agitation in 1907 for the creation of the State of Lincoln to embrace portions of Washington, Idaho, and Oregon, the region commonly and affectionately called "The Inland Empire."

One good reason why Washington Territory sought statehood could be extracted from the Secretary of War's report of January 14, 1884, wherein it is shown [2] that the aggregate amount expended by the United States

[1] From pamphlet edition of the constitution, Article XI, p. 10.
[2] House of Representatives, Executive Document No. 64, Serial Number 2196, p. 285.

on river and harbor improvements from 1789 to 1882 was $105,796,501. Of this amount the Pacific coast had received $2,156,733, of which California had $1,492,428; Oregon, $649,305; Idaho, $10,000; and Washington, $5500. This miserable pittance for the Territory of Washington had been allowed as follows: for improving the Cowlitz River, $2000 in 1880 and $1000 in 1881, and for improving the Skagit River, $2500 in 1880. Idaho's allowance of $10,000 was made in two equal installments in 1879 and 1880 for improving the Lower Clearwater River. Oregon, being a State, had received much better treatment. The bulk of her relatively large allowance was devoted to the improvement of the Willamette and Columbia rivers. In the light of such facts, no blame can lie against the citizens of a Territory seeking a condition that would bring about fairness in the distribution of such favors.

As the agitation for statehood became more and more vociferous, it began to dawn on the pioneers that their own labors were nearly ended. The younger citizens must soon assume the burdens of enacting laws and developing resources. The pioneers organized an association, and once each year regaled themselves and their friends with tales of the by-gone days. One invariable number of their programmes was the singing of the popular song, "The Old Settler," by Francis Henry, a pioneer Puget Sounder. The last one of the nine stanzas is as follows: —

"No longer the slave of ambition
I laugh at the world and its shams,
As I think of my pleasant condition
Surrounded by acres of clams."



CHAPTER XXV

THE TURBULENT DECADE

FROM the time Congress refused admission in 1879 to the achievement of statehood in 1889, Washington Territory passed through many pleasant experiences, it is true, but the annals are so loaded with the records of agitations, riots, and fires that the period deserves the name of the turbulent decade.

Governor Ferry excelled all records for length of service as chief executive of Washington. In the Territorial era, his eight years in that office were peaceful and prosperous. He saw the last claims of the Hudson Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company adjusted, he restored civil government to the San Juan Archipelago after the arbitration, he did his proper share in arranging for the constitutional convention of 1878, and one of his most gracious duties was to welcome President Rutherford B. Hayes, the first chief executive of the republic to visit this commonwealth. Mrs. Ferry has survived her distinguished husband. She recently recalled a reminiscence of the presidential visit. Governor Ferry and a committee of citizens took the President and the men folks of his party on a jaunt to inspect some big trees. Mrs. Ferry entertained the ladies with a dinner at her home in Olympia. The menu was principally made up of Puget Sound food products, including oysters, clams, and fish garnished with wild berries and jellies. Much interest was expressed over these eatables, and the dinner was voted a success. As the ladies entered the parlor, Mrs. Ferry was called to the kitchen and then immediately marched the cook into the parlor with a huge pan of nicely browned spring chickens. The main part of the dinner had been forgotten. Mrs.

Hayes at once spoke up: "Now, Mrs. Ferry, don't worry. We have had chicken served to us almost every day since we left home, and I am glad you gave us a meal from the waters and the forests of Puget Sound."

One agitation that persisted with wavering vehemence was that for woman suffrage. In fact that question was brought forward on occasion throughout the thirty-six years of the Territory's existence, and as the second decade of statehood is drawing to a close, there are indications of its revival. In the very first session of the Legislature in 1854, Mr. Denny offered an amendment to the elections bill in an effort to confer the ballot upon white women. The agitation reached an acute stage about 1870, when an intellectual and forceful woman of Oregon, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, began a vigorous and systematic campaign. She published a newspaper called the *New Northwest*, which was devoted to the enfranchisement of women. She developed into an eloquent orator and canvassed Oregon and Washington. The legislators of Washington Territory became restive under her attacks, and they sought to check her by passing a law, approved on November 29, 1871, and signed by Governor Edward S. Salomon. It was entitled "An act in Relation to Female Suffrage" and was very brief, providing: "That hereafter no female shall have the right of ballot or vote at any poll or election precinct in this Territory, until the Congress of the United States of America shall, by direct legislation upon the same, declare the same to be the supreme law of the land." [1] But this did not discourage Mrs. Duniway. She attended the constitutional convention at Walla Walla in 1878 as a reporter, and was probably successful in having those separate articles on woman suffrage submitted with the constitution to a vote of the people. On November 14, 1879, there was approved "An Act to Establish and Protect the Rights of Married Women." By this act all laws imposing civil disabilities upon a wife were abolished, and the equal rights and responsibilities of the father and mother over their children were established. Care was taken,

[1] Laws of Washington, 1871, pp. 175–176.



ALVIN FLANDERS
1869–1870



EDWARD S. SALOMON
1870–1872

Territorial Governors of Washington

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however, to assert "that this shall not confer the right to vote or hold office upon the wife." [1] The agitation was continued until November 23, 1883, victory was achieved by the approval of an act specifying the legal electors of the Territory and declaring: "Wherever the word 'his' occurs in the chapter aforesaid, it shall be construed to mean 'his or her,' as the case may be." [2] At the general elections of 1884 and 1886 the women of Washington Territory enjoyed the right to vote, hold office, and serve as jurors. In 1887, the privilege was withdrawn by decision of the Territorial supreme court. In July, 1884, the court, in deciding the case of Rosencrantz *versus* the Territory of Washington, declared that the Washington Territorial Code of 1881 had removed the common law disabilities from the wife and made her, conjointly with her husband, the head of the family and, in contemplation of the law, a householder. She was, therefore, competent to serve as a grand juror under the law of 1883. Associate Justice George Turner filed a dissenting opinion.[3] On February 3, 1887, the supreme court reversed that decision in the case of Harland *versus* the Territory of Washington, declaring that "Women are not competent to serve as jurors, grand or petit, under section 2078 of the Code, providing that 'all qualified electors shall be competent to serve as grand jurors, notwithstanding an act passed subsequently to the enactment of the Code making women qualified electors." [4] Another act along this line was in the first session of the new State Legislature when it was enacted that "hereafter in this state every avenue of employment shall be open to women," but it was also provided that "this act shall not be construed so as to permit women to hold public office." [5] Governor Ferry did not sign or veto this law, and so, under the terms of the new constitution, it became a law without his signature.

Thirty years after the Stevens surveys, the Northern

[1] Laws of Washington, 1879, p. 151.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1883, pp. 39–40.
[3] Washington Territory Reports, Vol. II, p. 267.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 131.
[5] Laws of Washington, 1889–1890, pp. 519–520.

Pacific Railroad was completed. Jubilation, excitement, rivalry, speculation, enterprise, opposition, support, pulling, and hauling, — all came with a rush as if the driving of the "last spike" in Montana on September 3, 1883, had sprung open a sort of Pandora's box, and released among the people of Washington a mixture of furies and fairies. The overshadowing figure of this era was Henry Villard, who had evolved from a newspaper correspondent into a powerful railroad king. While visiting for health in his native Germany in 1873, he was selected by bondholders to inspect the Ben Holladay railroad and steamship properties in Oregon. From that beginning he worked out a phenomenal progress culminating in the control of numerous transportation enterprises in the Northwest and finally the great Northern Pacific Railroad, which was nearing completion under the presidency of Frederick Billings. The "last spike" ceremony was one of the most famous events of the kind in American history. Mr. Grant says of it, "The celebration of the ceremonies by the presence of distinguished men from Germany, England, and the Eastern States was, on the whole, the most perfectly refined affair of the kind in the history of public achievements." [1] Mr. Villard himself has left a simple but graphic account of these ceremonies, including: "A thousand feet of track had been left unfinished in order to give the guests a demonstration of the rapidity with which the rails were put down. This having been done, amidst the roar of artillery, the strains of military music, and wild cheering Mr. Villard hammered down the 'last spike.' He had his family next to him, as also the head chief of the Crows, who formally ceded their hunting-grounds to the railroad after the Baby Hilgard had touched the spike with his little hands. Mr. Villard's emotions at that moment may be imagined. Speedy relief from the load of anxiety which the gigantic task had imposed upon him seemed to be promised. What wonder that he felt indescribably elated at this consummation of his peaceful conquest of the West?" Again: "The closing receptions at Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle were

[1] F. J. Grant, "History of Seattle," p. 168.



not surpassed by those at the eastern end of the Northern Pacific in lavishness of hospitality and in enthusiastic popular participation. . . . The last scene of the transcontinental celebration was fittingly enacted on the grounds of the University of Washington, which Mr. Villard had relieved from distress. An address to him, the most eloquent and most moving of all, was delivered by the daughter of the president." [1] The present writer was a student in the university at that time. Helping to move some chairs to the platform on the campus, he encountered in the hall a stranger whose questions about some mounted specimens of birds were answered. Later that stranger was introduced to the audience as the Hon. Carl Schurz. "We began this trip across the continent," said he, "from a university on the banks of the Mississippi, and it is eminently proper that we should here conclude that journey under the shadow of another university."

Fortune was more fickle than usual in those days. Mr. Villard lost his wealth and his control of the great transportation interests. His policy of fair play was abandoned. Many people of the Territory were angered. They began a bitter anti-railroad fight which was focused on the demand of forfeiture of the Northern Pacific's unearned land grant. A map of the Territory was prepared and labelled "Under a Black Cloud." It showed the enormous areas claimed as granted land in the Territory. Hundreds of these were sent to the national conventions in order to create a party issue if possible. Thousands of them were circulated in the Territory. The revolt was complete. Although the voters chose Republican members for the Territorial Legislature, they elected a Democrat, Charles S. Voorhees, as delegate to Congress in 1884, and reëlected him on the same issue in 1886. Tacoma had been selected as the terminus of the Northern Pacific. Olympia and Seattle were not at first

[1] "Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier, 1835–1900" (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 311–312. The eloquent speaker referred to was Miss Nellie, daughter of President Leonard J. Powell. She is now Mrs. Daniel Drumheller, of Spokane.

to have even side-tracks. Other cities were without the advantages of rail connection. This situation produced rivalries which raged with bitterness for many years. Still the railroad and steamships stimulated wholesome enterprises, as well as much unwholesome speculation, resulting in the usual crops of millionaires and bankrupts from day to day. Thus the blessing of the first railroad was accompanied by industrial and political disturbances.

Governor Watson C. Squire made an enviable record as chief executive of the Territory. So pronounced was his success that, when the administration became Democratic, President Cleveland declined to accept his resignation and allowed him to retain the office for two years before appointing Eugene Semple, a member of his own party to the place. What attracted most attention to Governor Squire's administration was his remarkably fine reports to the Secretary of the Interior. It was a part of the duty of the Territorial governors to make such reports, but they had been somewhat neglected after Governor Ferry's term had expired. In 1884, Governor Squire gathered facts and statistics from all the counties and drew on chambers of commerce, railroad officials, and other sources of information. Professor Thomas Condon furnished him a fine sketch of the geologic history of Washington. He extends thanks to Rev. R. D. Nevius for notes on the flora, to Professor O. B. Johnson for a list of birds, to Judge Orange Jacobs and W. A. Perry for a list of the fauna. The scope of the work was all-inclusive. Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller said it was the best report ever made by the governor of a Territory. The government printed five thousand copies of the report, which edition was speedily exhausted, when the Northern Pacific Railroad printed an equal number. In 1885, Governor Squire issued another valuable report which had an equally wide distribution. These reports, together with the active work of the railroad, caused the population of the Territory to increase rapidly. The United States Census of 1880 demonstrated that Congress had not been greatly at fault in refusing admission on that Constitution of 1878,



W. A. Newell



Watson C. Squire





for after two years of more growth the Territory had attained a total of only 75,116. But every one recognized that the population was increasing at rates no one could measure until the next census. In urging admission as a State, Governor Squire's report claimed that the population had doubled in the preceding four years, and, also, this argument is advanced: "This is the only political division on the continuous seaboard of the United States which remains in a Territorial condition. Its present and prospective maritime relations with the world entitle it to political importance and consideration. This Territory is situated on the distant confines of a strong, active foreign power, whose interests also on the seaboard are great and growing in this part of the world."

Before Governor Squire relinquished his office he was called upon to face the most serious outbreak since the Indian wars thirty years before. At ten o'clock on the night of September 7, 1885, five white men and two Indians climbed over the fence of Wold Brothers' orchard in Squawk Valley, and began firing with rifles and pistols into a group of tents in which thirty-seven Chinese laborers were asleep. Three of the Chinamen were killed, and three others wounded On the next day the survivors of the little party left the valley. This was the first case of actual violence, though there had been months of agitation against the Chinese. This party had been taken to the valley to pick hops in spite of the angry protests of the white men and the Indian hop-pickers. Other communities quickly manifested a determination to rid themselves of the objectionable cheap Chinese labor. After the outrages perpetrated against the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming, the coal miners in Washington Territory protested against the further employment of Chinese miners in this Territory. Apparently their protests were unheeded, for four days after the Squawk Valley murders, the miners at Coal Creek mine in King County attacked the Chinese quarters and burned them on the night of September 11. No Chinaman was killed in this attack, though one was choked and the clothing of forty-nine was burned. On November 3, a short blast of steam

whistles served as a preconcerted signal in Tacoma to draw several hundred men together who proceeded to "escort" the Chinese out of that city. Governor Squire was in constant communication with Sheriff Lewis Byrd, and offered to obtain troops if he could not maintain order. On that day of removal the sheriff answered one of the governor's telegrams as follows: "Most of Chinamen have been removed beyond city limits. No property destroyed. Those remaining will be removed to-morrow. Nobody injured bodily. No Government force could reach here in time to prevent removal to-morrow." [1] On the next day the sheriff reported that two hundred Chinamen had been removed the day before, and about forty were making ready to leave on that day. The governor issued a proclamation on November 4 calling upon the sheriffs to preserve peace and appealing to the people: "Array yourselves on the side of the law!" A similar proclamation was issued by President Cleveland on November 7. But violence was threatened in Seattle, and telegraphic orders were secured for the moving of troops. They arrived at Seattle on November 8, from Fort Vancouver. Brigadier-general John Gibbon was in command. The agitation quieted down for a time, and the troops returned to Fort Vancouver on November 17. In the following January, the Legislature by joint resolution justified the governor in his course. The Legislature adjourned on February 4, and within three days a serious crisis was reached in Seattle. Agitators from outside the city had been urging a repetition of the Tacoma plan of escorting all the Chinese outside the city limits. The governor was in Seattle at the time, and being informed by Mayor Henry L. Yesler that the civil authorities were unable to successfully cope with the trouble, he at once called for troops, and on February 8, issued a proclamation placing the city under martial law. The Home Guards had been organized by the responsible citizens to protect life and property and enforce the laws. But these

[1] Report of the Governor of Washington Territory to the Secretary of the Interior, 1886 (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1886, p. 23.





EUGENE SEMPLE
1887–1889



MILES C. MOORE
1889

Territorial Governors of Washington



men were quite willing that the Chinese who desired to do so should be aided in leaving the city. A large sum of money was collected to pay the fares of such as wished to leave. Two hundred and twelve were given passage on the steamship *Queen of the Pacific*. When that number had been crowded on to the steamer, the captain brought out the ship's hose charged with scalding hot water, and declared that any attempt to force more passengers on his boat would lead to serious trouble. Over a hundred Chinamen were started back to their quarters. As they reached the corner of the old New England Hotel, the mob stopped the Home Guard escort of the returning Chinamen. A rush was made to disarm the citizen soldiers, but Captain George Kinnear, a veteran of the Union army, was not to be trifled with. His order to fire was promptly obeyed. The mob dispersed at once, leaving one of their leaders on the street mortally wounded. The Seattle Rifles, a company of militia under Captain Joseph Green, had been guarding property on the wharf. At the sound of trouble up the street that company made a swift but orderly run to the scene. The crisis had passed. Law was supreme in Seattle. The United States troops arrived, and General Gibbon took keen interest in helping to restore complete order. On February 22, the proclamation of martial law was revoked. Ineffectual efforts were made to punish the leaders and some of the participants in all of these cases. One earnest prosecutor epitomized the situation thus: "The reason we did not secure a conviction is known only by the members of the jury." Some few convictions were obtained, but all finally frittered away in appeals. The cases were forgotten, if not wholly forgiven.

Citizens had multiplied so rapidly that it now became clear that the desired admission to statehood could not be withheld much longer. The Enabling Act was approved on February 22, 1889, but it required nearly a year to frame a constitution and secure organization of the State under that law. During that last year the Territory passed through a most severe trial by fire. The overturning of a carpenter's glue-pot started such a conflagration in Seattle

that on June 7, 1889, the *Post-Intelligencer* appeared in small and crippled form with this announcement: "The story which is told this morning needs no elaboration. Our whole business and commercial district, the very heart and center of the city of upwards of fifty blocks of business buildings, is this morning a glowing heap of ashes. But a single important business building, the Boston Block, is left standing. Every bank, every wholesale house, every hotel, every newspaper office, and nearly every store has been swept out of existence. Property, which yesterday morning represented upwards of ten millions of dollars, has been utterly destroyed. The facts speak for themselves. In the presence of such a calamity it would be useless to multiply phrases. No other American city has suffered a loss proportionately great." Later it was estimated that the aggregate loss would exceed fifteen millions of dollars. On July 4, the business portion of the city of Ellensburg was destroyed by fire, and a month later a like fate befell Spokane, the beautiful and prosperous "Metropolis of the Inland Empire." Here also the newspaper appeared the next morning in a form indicating a hard experience over night, and again the contemporary witness gives the best, the most graphic record of the event. The *Spokane Falls Review* of August 6, 1889, said: "The most devastating fire that ever occurred in the history of the world, according to population, swept over the business portion of this city Sunday night. . . . The terrifying shrieks of a dozen locomotives, commingled with the roar of flames, the bursting of cartridges, the booming of giant powder, the hoarse shouts of men, and the piteous shrieks of women and children. Looking upward a broad and mighty river of flame seemed lined against the jet-black sky. In this manner it lasted until ten o'clock, when with a mighty crash the Howard Street bridge over the Spokane River went down. A boom of logs took fire and shimmered for hours on the crystal surface of the river, igniting the mammoth lumber and flouring mills that line its bank, but by heroic efforts its career was checked on the south side of the stream." Here the fire left thirty blocks of buildings in

ruins. But two business structures — the Crescent Block and the American Theater — were spared. In the same year the business portion of Vancouver was visited by the same devastating experience. It speaks volumes for the self-reliance and buoyant courage of the people of Washington that in each case there arose out of those ruins finer buildings, wider streets, better cities. Other cities sent food and clothing to the stricken ones. It was fortunate that no lives were lost, and the prompt measures of relief reduced distress to the minimum. The trial by fire had passed. The verdict was that the people were strong enough to endure and brave enough to face about and press on toward their destiny.

Governor Miles C. Moore in his report to the Secretary of the Interior, reviewing the last year of the Territory, refers to these fires as making the year 1889 "a marked one in history" [1] and adds: "These calamities, seriously felt as they are, in no degree threaten the prosperity of the new State. Credit remains unimpaired, abundant capital at easy rates of interest having been offered from the East for rebuilding. Not a word of discouragement is heard, but everywhere there is evidence of renewed energy and ambition."

[1] Report of the Governor of Washington Territory, 1889 (Washington Government Printing-office, 1889), p. 3.

PART V

STATEHOOD

CHAPTER XXVI

ORGANIZING THE STATE

JUST before the transition from a Territory to a State, the official circles of Washington presented a peculiar mixture. It has already been shown how President Cleveland allowed Watson C. Squire to retain the governorship for two years before he was replaced by Eugene Semple. But when Mr. Cleveland was succeeded by President Harrison, Governor Semple's term of two years ended, and Miles C. Moore, of Walla Walla, became governor for the seven months before Elisha P. Ferry, elected as first governor of the State, was inaugurated. John B. Allen had defeated Charles S. Voorhees in the election of 1888 for delegate to Congress, but there was no time for him to enter actively upon the duties of that office before the position had ended with the life of the Territory. United States Surveyor-general J. C. Breckenridge was succeeded by Thomas H. Cavanaugh, and Associate Justice L. B. Nash was succeeded by William H. Calkins in 1889. The Republican, N. H. Owings, who had been appointed Secretary of the Territory by President Hayes in 1879 had been allowed to hold that office through the entire term of President Cleveland. He was succeeded, however, by O. C. White in 1889. Such Democratic officers as United States Attorney William H. White, United States Marshal T. J. Hamilton, Territorial Treasurer Frank I. Blodgett, and Territorial Auditor John M. Murphy were not disturbed, and held





GREAT SEALS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

government on July 4 and, after organization, declare, on behalf of the people, that they adopt the Constitution of the United States, when the convention could proceed to form a constitution and State government. It was stipulated that the constitution should be "Republican in form and make no distinction in civil or political rights on account of race or color, except as to Indians not taxed, and not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and the principles of the Declaration of Independence." It was also stipulated that there should be perfect toleration of religious sentiment, the title of unappropriated public land was to be recognized as in the United States, the debts of the Territory were to be assumed by the State, public schools must be maintained and kept free from sectarian control. Sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township were recognized as granted lands for the support of public schools, and it was specified that those lands could not be sold for less than $10 an acre, and the moneys acquired from that source should constitute a permanent fund, the interest only to be expended for the support of the schools. Fifty sections of land were granted for the erection of public buildings at the capital. Five per centum of the proceeds of the sales of all public lands in the new State was to be added to the permanent school fund. The old grant of seventy-two sections of land made in 1854 for the Territorial university was renewed, although it was well known that that old grant had been practically exhausted many years before. Ninety thousand acres were granted for the use and support of an agricultural college, and one hundred thousand acres for the establishment and maintenance of a scientific school. Other grants of land were as follows: one hundred thousand acres for State normal schools, one hundred thousand acres for public buildings at the State capital in addition to the former grant for the same purpose; and two hundred thousand acres for State charitable, educational, penal, and reformatory institutions. The State was to have one United States District Court with the officers of judge, marshal, attorney, and clerk. Cases on trial or in process

of appeal should not be interrupted by the transition to statehood. The State was to have one representative in Congress until the next general census or until otherwise provided by law. The constitution to be formed under the provisions of this law was to be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection on the first Tuesday in October, at which election officers for the proposed State government could also be chosen. The governor, chief justice, and secretary of the Territory were to canvass the returns. If the constitution had been ratified, a copy should be forwarded by the governor to the President of the United States, who was directed to admit the State by proclamation, if all the provisions of law had been fulfilled.

The preliminary proclamation was followed by the election, and on July 4, John P. Hoyt was elected president of the constitutional convention. At the expiration of fifty days, on August 22, seventy-one of the seventy-five delegates [1] signed the completed document. That this convention reflected the cosmopolitan character of the new State's population is manifest from the following statement prepared by one of the clerks of the convention: "Of the seventy-five members there were twenty-four nativities, as follows: Missouri 10, Ohio 8, New York 7, Illinois 7, Scot-

[1] The seventy-one signatures as given in Hill's Code are as follows: John P. Hoyt, President; J. J. Browne, N. G. Blalock, John F. Gowey, Frank M. Dallam, James T. Moore, E. H. Sullivan, George Turner, Austin Mires, M. M. Godman, Gwin Hicks, Wm. F. Prosser, Louis Sohns, A. A. Lindsley, J. J. Weisenburger, P. C. Sullivan, R. S. More, Thomas T. Minor, J. J. Travis, Arnold J. West, Charles T. Fay, Charles P. Coey, Robt. F. Sturdevant, John A. Shoudy, Allen Weir, W. B. Gray, Trusten P. Dyer, Geo. H. Jones, B. L. Sharpstein, H. M. Lillis, J. F. Van Name, Albert Schooley, H. C. Wilson, T. M. Reed, C. H. Manly, Richard Jeffs, Francis Henry, George Comegys, Oliver H. Joy, David E. Durie, D. Buchanan, John R. Kinnear, George W. Tibbetts, H. W. Fairweather, Thomas C. Griffitts, C. H. Warner, J. P. T. McCroskey, S. G. Cosgrove, Thos. Hayton, Sam'l. H. Berry, D. J. Crowley, J. T. McDonald, John M. Reed, Edward Eldridge, George H. Stevenson, Silvius A. Dickey, Henry Winsor, Theodore L. Stiles, James A. Burk, John McReavy, R. O. Dunbar, Morgan Morgans, Jas. Power, B. B. Glascock, O. A. Bowen, Harrison Clothier, Matt. J. McElroy, J. T. Eshelman, Robert Jamison, Hiram E. Allen, H. F. Suksdorf. Jno. I. Booge signed as chief clerk. The four who did not sign were James Hungate, Lewis Neace, J. C. Kellogg, and W. L. Newton.

SAL1/2

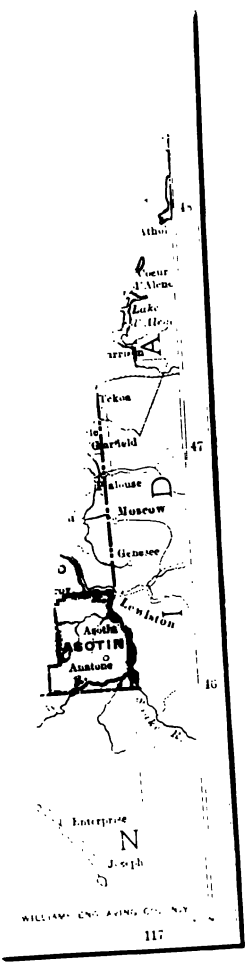
land 5, Maine 6, Pennsylvania 4, Kentucky 4, Indiana 3, Michigan 3, Germany 3, Tennessee 2, Ireland 2, and North Carolina, New Brunswick, Massachusetts, Washington Territory, Wisconsin, Ontario, Connecticut, Iowa, Wales, Nebraska, and California 1 each." [1] How much the different sections of the constitution were influenced by the individual members directly or indirectly by their nativity and former environment will never be fully known, as the records are lost.[2]

There is nothing bizarre, radical, or experimental about the constitution of Washington. It is a substantial and conservative framework of government with more than two centuries of American experience behind it. It is couched in direct, simple, and, with some exceptions, clear language, as witness this preamble: "We the people of the State of Washington, grateful to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for our liberties, do ordain this constitution." The "declaration of rights" contains a number of the ringing phrases of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, reciting the fundamental rights wrested from kings by our forefathers and jealously guarded by the republic and the individual States. The Legislature would consist of a House of Representatives of not less than sixty-three nor more than ninety-nine members and a Senate to consist of not more than one half nor less than one third of the number of members of the House of Representatives. Two years should be the term of representatives and four years that of senators. Members of the Legislature are prohibited from holding any civil office in the State which shall have been created or the emoluments of which shall have been increased during the term

[1] C. M. Barton, Legislative Manual of Washington, 1891–18 (Olympia, State Printing and Publishing Company, 1891), p. 117.

[2] The convention engaged the two best stenographers in the Territory, A. C. Bowman and C. B. Eaton, to keep the records. A resolution was adopted requesting the Legislature to appropriate money to pay the stenographers and to secure the publication of the record. The present writer introduced a bill to that effect in both the second and third Legislatures, but in each case it was defeated. Twelve years later the stenographers stated that they would no longer think of trying to transcribe their shorthand notes.




Moscow
Genesee
Lewiston
Asotin
ASOTIN
Anatone
Enterprise
Joseph
117


125°
124°
123°
122°
49°
48°
47°
Vancouver
New Westminster
Nanaimo
Victoria
Port Townsend
Port Angeles
Mt. Angeles
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Constance
Seattle
Tacoma
Olympia
Aberdeen
Hoquiam
Cosmopolis
Centralia
Chehalis
Longview
Kelso
Vancouver
Portland
Oregon City
Astoria
Cathlamet
Raymond
South Bend
Willapa
Nahcotta
Gray's Harbor
Puget Sound
Strait of Juan De Fuca
Columbia R.
Cowlitz R.
Lewis R.
Chehalis R.
Skagit R.
Snohomish R.
Green R.
Puyallup R.
Nisqually R.
Mt. Rainier
Mt. St. Helens
Mt. Vernon
Bellingham
Everett
Snohomish
Kent
Auburn
Puyallup
Buckley
Orting
Carbonado
Elma
Montesano
Gate
Tenino
Lacamas
Ashford
Kalama
Yacolt
Woodland
Ridgefield
Knappa
Stevenson
Clerkes
Olympic Mts.
Coast Range
Cascade Mts.
Quinault Ind. Res.
Makah Ind. Res.
Chehalis Ind. Res.
Shoalwater Ind. Res.
Cowlitz Ind. Res.
Clallam
Jefferson
Mason
Chehalis
Pacific
Grays Harbor
Thurston
Pierce
King
Kitsap
Snohomish
Skagit
Whatcom
Island
San Juan
Wahkiakum
Cowlitz
Skamania
Clarke
Lewis
Pt. Grenville
C. Elizabeth
C. Flattery
C. Shoalwater
C. Disappointment
Pt. Adams
Pt. Brown
Pt. Hanson
Pt. Steven
Hoh Head
Destruction I.
Quillayute R.
Hoh R.
Queets R.
Quinault R.
Humptulips R.
Wynoochee R.
Satsop R.
Wishkah R.
Wynoochee R.
Willapa R.
Naselle R.
Grays R.
Elochoman R.
Cowlitz R.
Kalama R.
Lewis R.
Washougal R.
Columbia R.
Skamania
Klickitat
Yakima
Benton
Franklin
Walla Walla
Columbia
Garfield
Asotin
Whitman
Lincoln
Adams
Grant
Douglas
Okanogan
Chelan
Kittitas
Pend Oreille
Stevens
Ferry
WASHINGTON
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
State Capital
County Seats
Railroads in Operation
Railroads Under Construction
Indian Reservation Boundaries
Longitude


120°
119°
118°
117°
COLUMBIA
Okanogan Lake
Kettle R.
Kootenay R.
Grand Forks
49°
Curlew
Orville
Oroville
Loomis
Nespelem
Republic
FERRY
Marcus
Colville
Colville Mt.
STEVENS
Calispell Pk.
Priest Lake
Sandpoint
NOGAN
Riverside
COLVILLE
INDIAN RESERVATION
Omache L.
Chewelah
Newport
Clinton
48°
Athol
SPOKANE IND. RES.
Mt. Carlton
Hellister
Jean
Wilbur
Davenport
SPOKANE
Spokane
Coeur d'Alene
Lake Coeur d'Alene
Waterville
Coulee City
LINCOLN
Edwall
Cheney
Fairfield
Harrington
Adrian
Odessa
Sprague
Waverly
Quincy
Moses L.
Ritzville
Ralston
Tekoa
ADAMS
WHITMAN
Oakesdale
Garfield
47°
Winona
Beverly
Providence
Washtucna
Colfax
Palouse
LaCrosse
Pullman
Moscow
Connell
Kahlotus
Snake R.
Genesee
FRANKLIN
GARFIELD
Pomeroy
BENTON
Pleasant View
Farmer
Lewiston
Ground View
Eureka Jct.
Dayton
COLUMBIA
ASOTIN
Asotin
Anatone
Prosser
Klona
Hunts Jct.
WALLAWALLA
Walla Walla
Touchet
Blue Mts.
46°
Columbia R.
Umatilla
Killian Jct.
Hepner Jct.
Athena
Grande Ronde
Snake R.
Pendleton
Enterprise
Lostine
Joseph
Heppner
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.

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for which he was elected to the Legislature. The scope of the legislative power was also restricted by a prohibition against authorizing lotteries, granting divorces, and enacting any private or special laws, such as the changing of names of persons or constituting one person the heir at law of another; laying out highways except State roads extending into more than one county or military roads aided by Congress; authorizing persons to keep ferries wholly within this State; authorizing the disposal of real or personal property of minors or others under disability; granting corporate powers or privileges; authorizing the adoption of children; regulating the rate of interest on money; and in certain other cases.

The executive department was to consist of a governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of State, treasurer, auditor, attorney-general, superintendent of public instruction, and a commissioner of public lands, but the supreme executive power of the State was vested in the governor. These officers were to hold office for terms of four years. The governor was given the power of veto, but three ways were provided by which a bill could become a law without his signature, — by a two-thirds vote of each House notwithstanding his objections, by the governor's allowing five days, Sundays excluded, to pass from the time of receiving the bill without returning it to the Legislature, and by allowing ten such days to pass in case the Legislature had adjourned. "The judicial power of the State shall be vested in a supreme court, superior courts, justices of the peace, and such inferior courts as the Legislature may provide." [1] A majority of the House of Representatives could bring impeachment proceedings against a judge or officer, the trial to be before the Senate, where two thirds of the senators elected must concur to secure a conviction. The Legislature might provide "that there shall be no denial of the elective franchise at any school election on account of sex." Every law imposing a tax must state distinctly the object of the same, the taxes to be paid in money only. No moneys may be paid out of the treasury except by direct

[1] Article IV, section 1.

appropriation, and the balance of any moneys so appropriated which remains unexpended at the end of two years will revert into the treasury. This is an effectual check upon the evils of the so-called "annual appropriations." The State was limited to an indebtedness of $400,000, while counties, cities, towns, school districts, or other municipal corporations could not incur indebtedness greater than one and one half per centum of the taxable property involved.

In providing for education this fine declaration is made: "It is the paramount duty of the State to make ample provision for the education of all children residing within its borders, without distinction or preference on account of race, color, caste, or sex." [1] All able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were declared liable to military duty. In addition to the county form of government, the Legislature was empowered to institute the township form of government for any county where a majority of the electors express a desire for it. Power was declared to regulate, limit, and restrain corporations by law. All old, unused charters were declared invalid. Transportation companies were forbidden to issue passes to members of the Legislature or other public officers. Monopolies and trusts were forbidden.

The seat of government should not be located until a majority of the electors should decide the question. The first election should be held at the time of voting on the constitution. If no city received a majority then, the three highest should be voted on at the next election, and if failure of choice again occurred the two highest should be submitted for choice at the next election. The city of Olympia weathered the threefold storm and still remains the capital. Tide-lands, school and granted lands were safe-guarded. The demands of the Enabling Act were framed in a separate article called a compact with the United States, and provisions were made for tiding over the affairs of the Territory until the State government was established. It was provided that two thirds of the Legislature could submit any

[1] Article IX, section 1.





ELISHA P. FERRY

Governor of the Territory, 1872-1880, and First Governor of the State, 1889-1893

desired amendment of the constitution which would become effective on the approval of a majority of the electors. As in the case of the 1878 constitution, two separate articles were submitted to the voters, one extending the right of suffrage to women and the other prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic, malt, or spirituous liquors, "except for medicinal, sacramental, or scientific purposes."

Both the separate articles were lost at the election on October 1, but the constitution was approved by a vote of 40,152 in favor to 11,879 against. At the same election, State officers were chosen, all of whom were Republicans, as follows: congressman, John L. Wilson; governor, Elisha P. Ferry; lieutenant-governor, Charles E. Laughton; secretary of state, Allen Weir; treasurer, A. A. Lindsley; auditor, Thomas M. Reed; attorney-general, William C. Jones; superintendent of public instruction, Robert B. Bryan; commissioner of public lands, W. T. Forrest; supreme judges, Ralph O. Dunbar, Theodore L. Stiles, John P. Hoyt, Thomas J. Anders, and Elmon Scott. These judges drew lots, as provided in the constitution, Scott and Anders receiving the short terms of three years; Stiles and Dunbar drew the slips marked five years, and Hoyt the one remaining marked seven years. Judge Scott asked that Judge Anders, being the older, should be selected as chief justice, which was done. The new Legislature was also overwhelmingly Republican. When it was organized, it easily and quickly elected as United States senators: John B. Allen, of Walla Walla, who had been elected as the Territory's last delegate to Congress; and Watson C. Squire, of Seattle, who had made an excellent record as Territorial governor.

On November 11, 1889, President Benjamin Harrison issued his proclamation, signed for him by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, declaring all the conditions had been fulfilled, and that the State of Washington was admitted into the Union. On November 18, Justice John P. Hoyt administered the oath of office to Governor-elect Ferry. The Legislature was already in session, and Washington had finally entered upon its career as a sovereign State.

Upon the lapse of eight years, after five sessions of the Legislature had enacted extensive bodies of laws and after the supreme court had interpreted many of its provisions, the constitution and the convention that framed it were passed in review by a man peculiarly fitted for the task. Theodore L. Stiles had helped to make the constitution as one of the members of the convention, and then he served for five years as a member of the first State supreme court. On November 11, 1897, there appeared over his signature in the *Tacoma Daily Ledger* an extensive and learned article entitled: "Constitution of the State and its Effect upon Public Interests." Speaking of how the constitution was made, he says: "But the convention did its best. It worked honestly and earnestly to accomplish, in the short time alloted to it, the highest good to the incoming State. There were no cranks, and but few politicians in it; and I verily believe that in no body of like character has politics been made more completely subservient to the public welfare. Its weakness was that it had to be chosen from the common people of the Territory, who were not numerous, and who had not the training in schools of the most lucid and comprehensive statement. Its members had ideas enough, and they knew well what they wanted, but when it came to setting it down in precise and unmistakable language they lacked the necessary experience." After showing how the will of the convention had been defeated by the failure of clear language in a number of cases, the judge continues: "Among the meritorious provisions of our constitution which had any degree of novelty at all, I pronounce the judicial system as the first. Not many of the States have constitutional courts, and still fewer of them have undertaken to define the jurisdiction of their courts by the higher law. We have an appellate court, with a slight measure of original jurisdiction, whose powers are broad and universal for the correction of all errors of the inferior courts, and yet whose interference stops at the line where cases are small and concern mere questions of money. No legislative whim can disturb or destroy the [illegible]dy course of judicial decision. The judges are numerous

enough to insure deliberate investigation; and the length of term and rotation of office are well adapted to secure a dignified but not servile response to the popular will." In concluding his review, Judge Stiles says of the constitution: "It deserves to be given a full trial, and when it arrives at that state, I believe it will be found to be an efficient guiding instrument, unnecessary to be materially altered for years to come."



CHAPTER XXVII

EXTRAVAGANCE CHECKED

In the last Territorial report to the Secretary of the Interior, Governor Moore referred to the approaching admission to statehood and declared: "Our citizens hail this deliverance from the condition of Territorial vassalage with general rejoicing." It was more than a deliverance. It was a plunge into an ocean of supposed wealth. Every county, every city, all the citizens, singly or in groups, began a mad race for a share of the unlimited perquisites and advantages of the new conditions. The situation was too serious, too momentous, to merit allusion to the traditional small boy and his new wagon, but a survey of the record justifies some such insinuation. Everybody knew the State had abundant natural resources which would be developed at once. Therefore, all these were treated like money in the bank. Provisions were promptly enacted by which the State, counties, cities, towns, and school districts could create bonded indebtedness. These new privileges were seized upon and used by the various boards and officers having authority.

But the greatest control of the new riches was centered in the Legislature, and to that arena was carried the battle of the spoils. The danger of Indian warfare was passed, but this State on the frontier of the republic needed an efficient militia organization, which was provided and then the soldiers must be given the pleasure and advantage of a summer camp. The spirit of the hour governed that camp. When time came to leave for home, a force of carpenters was still busy putting down matched flooring in the tents. As if this was not ridiculous enough, Governor Ferry, who had

returned from an absence, checked over the accounts and threw out the bill for a ton of radishes supposed to have been delivered on the last day of the camp. The Enabling Act had used the plural in granting one hundred thousand acres of public land for normal schools. There was a perfect scramble for normal schools on the part of counties desiring some good State institution. The schools at Cheney and Ellensburg were created by the first Legislature. Senator Henry Long, of Chehalis, was about to secure the third one when it was changed by amendment from a normal to a reform school, and the senator in disgust voted against his own bill as amended.[1] In the second and third Legislatures, the present writer was chairman of the committee to which was referred bills for normal schools. Overwhelmed with the surprising number, he sought advice from "Uncle Joe" Megler, an older member, who said: "Pigeonhole them all. We are trying to make it so ridiculous that these fellows will let up." The reckless extravagance of the time was also reflected from an office quite innocent and very useful in itself. The office of State printer had been created. The secretary of State was directed to supervise the printing, but there was no power vested in any officer to limit the kind or amount of printing. Institutions obtained stationery, circulars, and pamphlets in unprecedented varieties and quantities which piled up treasury deficits for several years before the evil was investigated and stopped.

Of course it was recognized that all these expenditures must be met by revenue, and to stimulate this, efforts were made to hasten the realization of money from public lands and from taxation on newly developed resources. The first Legislature, therefore, provided for the sale and lease of public lands and created a land commission to facilitate the process. A mining bureau and the office of State geologist were created to help develop the mining wealth. A harbor line commission was organized to secure the advantages of the available tide-lands in the many harbors

[1] It should be added that later Senator Long took a deep interest in the reform school as it developed into a most worthy institution.

of the State. The office of fish commissioner was provided for, and another industry was brought under the fostering care of the State. Many other industries received attention, such as laws for logging and boom companies, water rights and irrigation, and the building of roads.

In all this there should not be implied a lack of patriotism on the part of the citizens. Many of them had manifested a high quality of this virtue by facing death on the battlefields of the country and by stanchly upholding law and order during the disturbed days of strife in Territorial times. It was simply a case of distorted civic perspective where geography counted for more than history or economics. Strong efforts were made to check the public extravagance. Governor John H. McGraw, who was inaugurated in January, 1893, brought a howl of criticism upon himself for bravely wielding his veto pruning-knife on the appropriation bills. But these heroic efforts at retrenchment were not enough. The Republican party had been completely in control of all the State offices. In Congress the delegation had been Republican, consisting up to that time of Senators John B. Allen, Watson C. Squires, and John L. Wilson, and Representatives John L. Wilson, W. H. Doolittle, and S. C. Hyde. The hard times and especially the extravagance in this State were charged to the Republicans. The opponents of that party — Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans — united into the Fusion party which won a complete victory in 1896. W. C. Jones and James Hamilton Lewis were elected as representatives in Congress, John R. Rogers became governor, and the Legislature, having a Fusion majority, chose George Turner as United States senator for the term extending from 1897 to 1903. Appropriations were very much reduced under the reform Legislature, and the extravagances, once checked, are not likely again to assume the same relative proportions as those at the beginning of statehood.

The Fusion party did not have enough cohesiveness to retain power long. At the next election, 1898, the Republicans elected Wesley L. Jones and Francis W. Cushman to Congress, and regained much lost ground in the Legislature



JOHN H. MCGRAW
Second Governor of the State, 1893–1897



and in the counties. In 1900, the entire Republican State ticket was elected with the exception of Governor John R. Rogers, whose rugged honesty had secured for him alone a reëlection. He died within a year, however, and for the first and only time the lieutenant-governor — Henry McBride — succeeded to the office of chief executive. It is generally admitted that Washington is heavily Republican under normal conditions, but a restoration of normal conditions does not wholly explain the sudden political changes of 1898 and 1900. There was another event whose influence must be acknowledged.

In the summer of 1897, wonderful stories were received of great discoveries in Alaska. On July 16, the *Seattle Daily Times* editorially commented on the revelations from the upper waters of the Yukon, saying they "have opened up and yielded to the pick of the miner the most wonderful output of gold ever known before in the world. The little steamer *Excelsior*, which arrived in San Francisco yesterday, carried down three quarters of a million of gold, largely obtained during the last twelve months by the very people who had dug it out of the earth." On the same day the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* published a letter from a wealthy young business man of San Francisco to his brother, in which he said: "The excitement on the river is indescribable and the output of the new Klondike district almost beyond belief. Men who had nothing last fall are now worth a fortune. One man has worked forty square feet of his claim, and is now going out with $40,000 in dust." The *Daily Times* also published an interview with Thomas S. Lippy, one of the successful miners, who promptly sounded a note of warning: "The place is rich, wonderfully so, I might say. It would be impossible for me to even calculate its richness. I am loath, however, to talk of all this wealth, for it might induce people who are not fitted financially or otherwise to go to that district. It is not by any means an easy undertaking. It is filled with difficulties and trials such as one can hardly dream of, but if a person is inclined to take the risk, I do not believe he can lose by it." On July 17, the steamer *Portland* arrived in Seattle, bringing

sixty miners and about $800,000 in gold-dust. "A stampede unequalled in history was on." [1]

Hard times in the State of Washington vanished in a day. The good news was electrical. Orders were telegraphed for miners' supplies of every kind. People talked of nothing else, but in addition to hopeful talking they began active work, preparing to secure in some way a part of the new-found riches. Thousands made ready to brave the dangers and hardships in person. These included lawyers, preachers, business men, laborers, men of all kinds, and not a few women; even the newly elected mayor of Seattle left his position to join the stampede. Countless numbers of those who remained at home sought to reap part of the golden harvest by making articles to sell the adventurers. These goods included condensed and evaporated foods, such as potato chips, powdered squash, "crystallized" eggs, and creepers to fasten on the shoes for facilitating the climb over ice, warm garments of all kinds, movable houses, protection against mosquitoes, as veils and dreadful-smelling lotions under such names as "Skeeter-Skatter." Dogs were captured everywhere and dexterously trained as sledge teams. In short, the industrial and economic life of Washington was profoundly affected by the series of events known as the golden era of Alaska. The prosperity then ushered in continued unchecked until the nation-wide and sudden business depression of 1907. The flood of new gold destroyed the arguments for free and unlimited coinage of silver, and thus the political life of the State was affected. It should also be confessed that the moral life was at first harmed in the hasty scramble by many acting as if they believed the legend, "For never a law of God or man runs north of fifty-three."

Here were all the needed elements for another "boom," another season of excessive speculation, but that form of extravagance, like the reckless plunging of the newly admitted State, was checked probably for all time. Those booming days deserve more than a simple passing notice.

[1] Tappan Adney, "The Klondike Stampede" (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1900), p. 2.

They constitute the rude and vivid experiences of the frontier in transition from raw material into the edge of civilization. Many communities were crying their wares in catchy phrases like: Seattle, "the Queen City of the Northwest"; Tacoma, "the City of Destiny"; and "Keep Your Eye on Pasco"; but the choicest morsel of that lurid feast was furnished by Anacortes. The waters of Puget Sound passed the wharves so swiftly at certain stages of the tide that the smaller steamers frequently promenaded back and forth in an effort to make a landing. For this reason the bay was called "The Avenue." Colonel Patrick Henry Winston, the State's first United States attorney, was one of the greatest wits and pyrotechnic orators we have known in the Northwest. The boomers of Anacortes were very anxious to interest such a popular man in their town site. He was shown the big trees, wide streets, new lots, and other attractions. As the group approached the wharf, one agent grew eloquent. Waving his hand toward the bay, he exclaimed: —

"There, colonel! You behold what man never saw before — a whale spouting in 'The Avenue.'"

"Wonderful!" mused the colonel. "Wonderful! Wonderful! Whales in the avenues, sharks on the street corners, and suckers everywhere!"

As elsewhere on similar occasions, the flattening out of those booms was complete, abject, and doleful. The unfortunate ones who had been caught last, who held the lands, found the burden insufferable. Again Anacortes furnished a quaint expression of this condition: "Say, John, you know that Mr. Newcomer? Well, I just sold him a lot, and when the fellow wasn't looking, I slipped two extra lots into the deed."

Anacortes, like the other cities and towns of the State, has fully recovered from the ills of those feverish times, and can now well afford to laugh over the jibes and jests at that receding past. The Alaska gold produced a boom, but not like any of the others. The lessons of experience were taken to heart. The new boom took the form of magnificent blocks of stone, steel, and concrete, of fine dwellings and

paved streets, of safe investments in solid, substantial properties and permanent improvements.

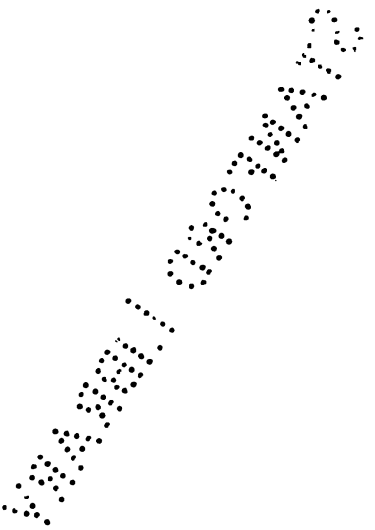
In the midst of the Alaska gold excitement came the Spanish-American war. It is a fine commentary on the enthusiastic patriotism of Washington's citizens that thousands of them should ignore the luring temptations of the gold-fields and clamor for a chance to volunteer for service under the Stars and Stripes. President McKinley issued on April 25, 1898, his call for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers to "serve for two years unless sooner discharged." The quota assigned to the State of Washington under this call was one regiment of infantry. So quickly was this regiment supplied and so many others urged their desire to enlist, that Governor Rogers earnestly sought permission for the State to send a second regiment. As a similar condition prevailed throughout the nation, the privilege was denied, and the State was represented in the war by the First Washington Volunteer Infantry. At that time the State militia was in splendid condition, comprising parts of two regiments of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and one battery of light artillery. Mostly from these organizations was made up the regiment for service in the Philippines. Selections of officers and men were made so as to give, as nearly as possible, a fair representation to the different parts of the State. The rendezvous selected was near the city of Tacoma, and was named Camp John R. Rogers. The governor selected as colonel of the regiment First Lieutenant John H. Wholley, of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry, who was at that time serving as professor of military science and tactics and instructor in civil engineering and mathematics in the University of Washington. He proved to a be splendid officer, was recommended by his superiors for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and at the end of the campaign was presented with a beautiful sword by the enlisted men of his regiment. In fact the entire regiment made a record that has reflected pronounced glory upon the good name of Washington.

By May 1, 1898, twelve companies had assembled at the



JOHN R. ROGERS
Third Governor of the State, 1897–1901





rendezvous — two companies each from Seattle and Spokane and one company each from Tacoma, Walla Walla, North Yakima, Waitsburg, Ellensburg, Centralia, Dayton, and Vancouver. One company from Spokane was a battery of light artillery, and the North Yakima company was a troop of cavalry, both volunteering in this case, of course, as infantry. Captain Frank Taylor, of the Fourteenth United States Infantry, was detailed as mustering officer, and Captain and Assistant Surgeon John L. Phillips, of the United States army, as medical examiner. The field and staff of the regiment mustered in was as follows: colonel, John H. Wholley; lieutenant-colonel, William J. Fife of Tacoma; major and surgeon, Lewis R. Dawson of Seattle; major, John J. Weisenburger of New Whatcom (Bellingham); major, John Carr of Dayton; chaplain, John R. Thompson of Aberdeen; assistant surgeon, Elmer M. Brown of Tacoma; assistant surgeon, William McVan Patten of Walla Walla; adjutant, William L. Luhn of Spokane; and quartermaster, Albert W. Bryan of Seattle. On May 10, the first battalion in command of Lieutenant-colonel Fife embarked for San Francisco on the steamship *Senator*, and was followed, on May 14, by the second battalion under Major Carr on the steamship *City of Peking*. On May 24, headquarters and the third battalion proceeded by rail to Fort Vancouver. From May to October the regiment was used to garrison posts at San Francisco and Vancouver. On October 19, the second battalion embarked on the transport *Valencia*, and on October 28 the balance of the regiment embarked on the transport *Ohio*, arriving at Manila on November 22 and 26. The survivors of the regiment returned to San Francisco on October 9, 1899. During that year the men had seen much active service. They had taken part in thirty-six battles, engagements, and skirmishes. The list of casualties shows 1 officer killed and 5 wounded; 24 enlisted men killed and 98 wounded; but a number of others had died of disease, bringing the total casualties to 7 officers and 140 men. Chaplain Thompson died of dysentery at Manila on February 19, 1899. The one officer killed in action was Captain George H.

Fortson of Company B of Seattle. The official historian of the regiment, Adjutant William L. Luhn, says: "Captain Fortson's death was most lamentable, but in war and battle the brave are apt to fall. Captain Fortson was absolutely without fear, and all his acts carried with them evidence of knowledge of his responsibilities. He was, in other words, not brave through emotion, but through a noble purpose which counted its cost before he proceeded to act." [1] The noble captain received his mortal wound at Pasig bridge on March 26, 1899.

Adjutant Luhn in recording the fine achievements of the regiment mentions many incidents of valor on the part of the troops, the hospital corps, and the band. Here is one: "Among the various episodes in the career of the band was one of no small importance which occurred on Washington's Birthday. The band was stationed at Santa Ana, while the line was being held at San Pedro Macati. This particular day they went out to the firing line with their instruments to cheer up the weary men in the trenches. It was a scene not soon to be forgotten when the strains of 'America,' 'Marching Thro' Georgia,' and 'Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean' were cheered loudly by the men in the trenches and rifle-pits."

The same official historian thus records the end of the regiment's service: "October 31, 1899, the long-looked-for muster-out day, at last came, and with it the full restoration of the citizen-soldiers, from Washington, to citizenship. No one can so fully appreciate this precious boon of citizenship as the volunteer who has spent his service in the Philippines. He feels more keenly than before the full value of his personal freedom and his rights of manhood, and these returned volunteers, possessed of this new fervor, will not only protect the law and order of the land, but they will help build for the future generations a better and a grander State."

[1] In appendix to "Campaigning in the Philippines," Karl Irving Faust, editor (San Franciso, The Hicks-Judd Company, 1899), p. 23.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

FIVE centuries before the time of Columbus, the hardy Scandinavians, sailing from Greenland, found and named "Vinland the Good." They were attracted to the coasts of New England quite as much by the timber as by the grapes they found ripening in the wilderness. Just so did the magnificent forests of Puget Sound appeal to the first civilized men who beheld them. When Captain John Meares, in 1788, declared that this part of America could supply all the navies of Europe with fine spars, he was by no means the victim of his own enthusiasm. He was a prophet. He was first among white men to proclaim to the world an idea of the wealth that nature had stored up in these enormous forests of cone-bearers. Four years after Meares wrote his words of praise, Captain George Vancouver found that he had to replace a foretopsail-yard and said: "It was a very fortunate circumstance, that these defects were discovered in a country abounding with materials to which we could resort; having only to make our choice from amongst thousands of the finest spars the world produces." [1] The first settlers found that those discoverers and explorers had made wise observation of the wealth in trees. The California gold discoveries developed a fine market near at hand. Before the Denny party had completed their log-cabin shelters at Alki Point in 1851, the brig *Leonesa*, Captain Daniel S. Howard, arrived off the point, looking for a cargo of piles needed to build wharves at San Francisco. The men went bravely at work cutting the

[1] George Vancouver, "A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World" (London, John Stockdale, 1801), Vol. II, p. 117.

trees, rolling the logs to the shore, and loading them into the brig by hand. Thus the very first item in the commercial history of Seattle was this cargo shipped in the *Leonesa*. A lot of needed supplies were brought to the settlers on the return voyage.[1]

When the wharves in San Francisco had been built, the demand for piles fell off, but the demand for sawed lumber greatly increased, markets opening up in California, Hawaii, Australia, and China. This demand created a rapid development in the sawmill industry. On January 1, 1851, there was but one sawmill north of the Columbia River. This was the water-power mill built by Michael T. Simmons at Tumwater. Its capacity was about three thousand feet per day. In a little over four years the progress was remarkable. On October 1, 1855, Major H. A. Goldsborough wrote to the United States Survey officers a fine letter telling of the resources of Washington Territory.[2] He reported that there were at that time sixteen mills on Puget Sound having a daily capacity of eighty-five thousand feet of lumber. These mills were located as follows: four near Olympia, two at Nisqually, two at Port Ludlow, and one each at Henderson Inlet, Hammersley Inlet, Steilacoom, Puyallup, Seattle, Port Orchard, Port Gamble, and Bellingham Bay. In the course of his remarks the major issued a growl about the golden State of California, "whither all our migratory citizens rush, anxious apparently to spend a lifetime in search of a gilded shadow."

Since that early report the lumbering industry has extended to Grays Harbor, Willapa Harbor, along the Columbia River, into eastern Washington, and all other forested regions of the State.[3]

[1] That name Leonesa should be perpetuated as the name of a park, a street, or in some other permanent way.

[2] Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, 1856 (Washington, Cornelius Wendell, Printer, 1856), pp. 293–294.

[3] Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture and Immigration, "A Review of the Resources and Industries of Washington," 1907 (Olympia, C. W. Gorham, Public Printer, 1907), Statistical Appendix, p. 32. There are 535 sawmills and 417 shingle mills which in one year produced 5,105,925,000 feet of lumber and 9,370,750,000 shingles. Victor H. Beckman, secretary of the Pacific Coast Lumber Manufacturers'

Mr. C. J. Smith, of Seattle, has recently retired from an active and successful career in the transportation and lumber business. He has been making some graphic comparisons to show the basis of his confidence in the timber wealth of Washington. The United States experts give the average yield of wheat in the Dakotas as about twelve bushels per acre.[1] At eighty cents per bushel on the farm, this would yield $9.60 per acre. At twelve cents per bushel in freight, it would yield $1.44 per acre to the railroads. The stumpage on an average acre of Washington timber land is forty thousand feet. The value of the logs at the camp is $8 per thousand feet, making the crop worth $320 per acre to the owner. The lumber weighs thirty-three hundred pounds per thousand feet, and the freight rate at forty cents per hundred pounds would yield the railroads a tariff of $528 per acre from the timber lands. Thus, by the standard of freight yield to the railroads, one acre of Washington timber is equal to three hundred and sixty-seven years of wheat crops per acre in Dakota. The interest on the freight yield of one acre of Washington timber at six per centum is $31.68 or equal to twenty-two years of freight from an average Dakota acre. The interest at six per centum on the value of an average acre's crop of timber is $19.20 per year, or equal to the entire value of the average yield per acre of Dakota wheat for two years.

Even with ruthless methods of harvesting the timber crop, those figures demonstrate that a sufficient time of three hundred years would be allowed for the timber acre to become reforested before the average wheat acre would overtake its yield value, without counting the enormous factor of interest. But, fortunately for the State of Washington, it will not be necessary to idly wait three hundred years for a natural reforestation of the timber

Association, estimates the standing timber in the State to be the enormous aggregate of 195,658,080,000 feet, board measure.

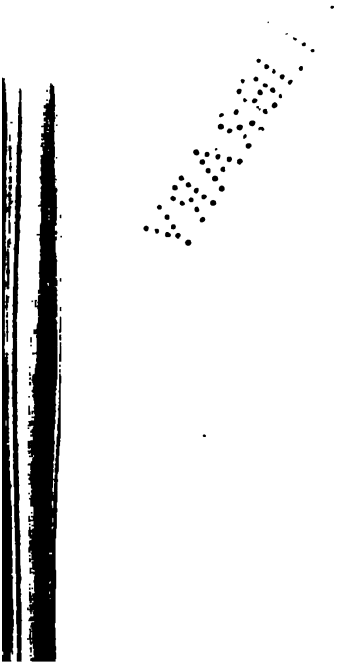
[1] The United States Department of Agriculture's Album of Agricultural Graphics for 1891, Plate II, shows the average yearly yield of wheat per acre in the undivided Dakota for a period of ten years to be 11.9 bushels.

lands. The Federal government has blazed a new way since President Cleveland, on Washington's Birthday, 1897, issued his proclamation creating enormous forest reservations in the timbered lands of America. Out of a total area of forty-five million acres in the State of Washington, over eight million acres are now set aside and managed as national forests. The one greatest feature of good sense in this new policy is to harvest the logs in a way that will make the crop a continual one, allowing reforestation to keep pace with the harvest. Private owners of large areas are adopting the same policy. It is simply impossible to compute the advantages these sane provisions will yield to posterity.

By far the greater portion of the forest lands are west of the Cascade Mountains. The eastern lands were used first for cattle grazing, then for wheat growing, and favored portions later made phenomenal records in the production of fruits. Thus agriculture became dominant in the East as lumber was the chief interest in the West. And yet this statement needs qualifying. Eastern Washington had a very considerable business in pine lumber, and western Washington had a number of the richest of agricultural valleys. In fact, experts of the United States Department of Agriculture once declared that the reclaimed tide land at the mouth of the Skagit River is the richest soil on the globe. Agriculture in Washington was begun west of the Cascade Range by Doctor McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver in 1825, and later the Puget Sound Agricultural Company began extensive plantations at Cowlitz and Nisqually. About the time of organizing the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, Doctor Whitman commenced successful agriculture at his mission station in the Walla Walla Valley. What is still more interesting in the light of subsequent developments, the missionary farmer practiced irrigation. The primitive peoples of Mexico and Peru irrigated extensive areas before the white man reached them. The Indians of the Columbia valleys had not advanced to that stage of culture, but the white man's ways soon appealed to them. One who visited the Whitman Mission in 1841



HENRY MCBRIDE
Fourth Governor of the State, 1901–1905



made this record: "The Indians have learned the necessity of irrigating their crops, by finding that Doctor Whitman's succeeded better than their own. They therefore desired to take some of the water from his trenches instead of making new ones of their own, which he very naturally refused. They then dug trenches for themselves, and stopped up the doctor's. This has well-nigh produced much difficulty; but finally they were made to understand that there was enough water for both, and they now use it with as much success as the missionaries."[1] The advantage to be acquired by irrigation in that region was observed and commented upon nearly ten years before the above comment was written. Speaking of the Walla Walla and Colville valleys, Nathaniel J. Wyeth said: "Irrigation must be resorted to if a large population is to be supported."[2]

While the Walla Walla Valley and the hills and rolling plains of the Palouse and the Big Bend region have yielded fortunes in wheat without irrigation, recent years have shown that all past agriculture in eastern Washington will be but beginnings when compared with intensive cultivation under irrigation as now planned. Many square miles of lands heretofore held in ridicule as the home of the jack-rabbit and sage-hen are now being transformed into fruitful gardens. Many small farms, like that of Doctor Whitman, have long been irrigated. Companies were then organized to build canals and laterals in the Yakima, Kittitas, and Wenatchee valleys. There recently followed the largest event in this important evolution: the Federal government arranged to set aside a portion of the revenue from the sale of public lands for a "Reclamation Fund."[3]

Congressman Wesley L. Jones has praised President

[1] Charles Wilkes, "United States Exploring Expedition," Vol. IV, p. 396.

[2] Caleb Cushing Document, No. 101, p. 15.

[3] Bureau of Statistics, Report for 1907, pp. 33–34. There are now $3,000,000 in that fund for use in this State. "It is probable in time that $50,000,000 will be spent by the Reclamation Service in the State of Washington and reclaim 1,500,000 acres of land now entirely or partially useless."

Roosevelt and the Congress for beginning this Reclamation Service and added: "Cities and towns will spring up as by magic. Railroads and electric lines will be built, manufactories will be established, and our State will become the Mecca of the hundreds of thousands of those of the East who long for our pure mountain air and the golden opportunities which we can hold out to them." [1]

Though many will look with joy to the future for great agricultural success in this State, it ought not to be forgotten that agriculture from the beginning has been of enormous value to the State. Washington is rapidly gaining the enviable reputation of being the home of the red apple, and there are other fruits in abundance. The crops of grain, hay, hops, and potatoes are important, as are the poultry, sheep, cattle, horses, and hogs.[2]

The fisheries of the State furnish employment for about ten thousand men. Halibut and salmon are packed in ice and shipped to the Eastern States, often reaching as far as the Atlantic seaboard. Canned salmon are shipped from Puget Sound and the Columbia River to all the markets of the world. The State is pursuing a wise policy in the maintenance of fish hatcheries for the artificial propagation of the best varieties of salmon. Similar work is maintained by the Federal government at Baker Lake, Washington, and in Alaska, by the provincial government of British Columbia and the State government of Oregon. Some of the expense in the State of Washington is paid from the general fund, and a portion is defrayed from funds arising from licenses imposed upon the fishing industry.[3]

[1] In *Washington Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 258.

[2] In the year 1907, the State produced 40,845,000 bushels of wheat, 5,425,000 bushels of oats, 4,940,000 bushels of barley. Orchard statistics of that year showed 3,772,105 apple trees, 500,633 pear trees, 6988 quince trees, 746,956 peach trees, 243,459 cherry trees, 949,299 plum and prune trees, 30,689 apricot trees, 15,185 almond trees, and 23,862 English walnut trees. The 284 creameries produced over 8,000,000 pounds of butter in 1907.

[3] John L. Riseland, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Annual Reports of the State Fish Commissioner and Game Warden (Olympia, C. W. Gorham, Public Printer, 1907), p. 59. Labor in the fisheries earned more than $3,000,000 in 1906, and the total output was valued at more than $7,000,000. In 1906, there were 15 fish hatcheries in opera-

Four thousand dollars were obtained in one season for licenses to take oysters and for oyster seed tonged from the State reserves. Citizens of Washington are also building up an extensive business in codfish, the supplies being obtained from the banks on the coast of Alaska.

The coal mines of the State produce about three million tons annually. Coal was discovered by the first settlers in 1851, but exportation by 1860 had reached only five thousand tons a year. Since then the steady demand has caused the opening of new mines, and all are now working to the fullest capacity. Other mining interests are developing gradually, each year disclosing some new mineral treasure hidden in the mountains. Quarries of granite and other building stones have furnished great quantities of materials for the construction of substantial city blocks, some of which will compare favorably with any structures in the older communities of the world. The clays of the State have produced brick, tile, and sewer pipe which have passed with success the most severe tests of United States government experts. The market for these products has long since expanded beyond the limits of the State.

For many years the most prominent personality in the economic history of the Northwest has been that of James J. Hill, the railroad builder. In a magazine article he recently made the following statements: "Land without population is a wilderness, and population without land is a mob. I do not wish in any manner to belittle the importance of our growing manufactures or their relative value in the commerce of the country. The security of their foundations has always rested upon the agricultural growth of the nation, and in the future it must continue to rest there. Every manufacturer, every merchant, every business man throughout the land, is most deeply interested in maintaining the growth and development of our agricultural

tion, producing 64,995,270 young salmon and 1,300,000 trout, all of which were liberated at the natural spawning grounds of the various species. Thirty-two oyster reserves in Mason, Kitsap, Jefferson, Thurston, and Pacific counties embrace 15,714,944 acres. The commissioner recommends that the State retain and manage six reserves, and that the remaining 6,597,094 acres be sold.

resources. . . . Considering the question from a broad national standpoint, the next interest in importance to agriculture is the railway interest of the country. The entire railway growth is within the memory of men still living." [1]

The economic development of Washington has been immensely accelerated by improved means of transportation, as its history lies wholly within the age of steam and the railroad. It is true that the first settlers on Puget Sound used the canoe, the sloop, plunger, schooner, and ship. If the Columbia River had fewer obstructions, a great system of traffic over nature's highways might have developed also in eastern Washington. But the pioneers had no idea of relying on water transportation or on the propulsion by hand-power or wind-power. At an early date the shores of Puget Sound echoed the harsh but real music of the steamboat, and from the very beginning the settlers looked forward to the advent of the railroad.

"Certainly the building of the first railroad in the commonwealth would be claimed as a memorable event in the history of any community, and to Walla Walla belongs the credit. In 1868, her citizens incorporated the Walla Walla Railroad Company, and in March, 1872, began the construction of the road from Wallula, completing it to Walla Walla October 23, 1875." [2] This was the road built by Doctor D. S. Baker. Weird and humorous tales are told about that old road. At first the rails were of wood, and Governor Mead has said [3] that on these rails were tacked strips of rawhide. One hard winter the railroad was put out of commission by the starving coyotes eating those rawhide rails. Later strap iron was nailed to the wooden rails. Frequently the train was stopped to allow the fireman and engineer to run ahead and drive down the loosened spikes in the iron straps. For all that, the road was a financial success.

But the honor of its being the first railroad in Washington

[1] In *Washington Magazine*, Vol. I, pp. 151, 153.

[2] Henry Kelling, in the *Washington Historian* for January, 1901, p. 94.

[3] In an address to the students of the University of Washington.

is disputed. The Washington Territorial Legislature, on January 31, 1859, incorporated the Cascades Railroad Company. The road was built in 1862. It was a narrow-guage road with wooden rails, and was intended to transport goods and passengers around the obstruction in the Columbia River known as the Cascades. Of late years it has been of little or no use.[1]

These small roads, however important at the time, were looked upon as mere beginnings. As early as 1834 Doctor Samuel B. Barlow, of Massachusetts, suggested a railroad from New York to the mouth of the Columbia River, declaring: "What a glorious undertaking for the United States! The greatest public work, I mean the greatest in its ends and utilities, that mortal man has ever yet accomplished." [2] There followed years of agitation, the surveys of 1853 and the act of Congress approved by President Lincoln on July 2, 1864, giving a large grant of land for the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Reference has already been made to the completion of this road, and since then many miles of other roads and branches have been constructed,[3] the most important being the Great Northern and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul systems. The Union Pacific and the Canadian Pacific systems also enter the State over branches or rented tracks.

An aid to navigation that has commanded much interest in the State is the Lake Washington Canal. At first the lake was vaguely known by the Indian name "Duwamish." At a meeting of the pioneers, Thomas Mercer proposed the new name Washington, and for the smaller lake, by which the larger one would some time be connected with the sea, he proposed the name Union. Thus the idea of the canal has been cherished from the first. In 1860, Harvey Pike began personally to dig the canal with pick and shovel. In 1871, the Lake Washington Canal Company was incorporated. Some fifteen years later a small canal was

[1] First Annual Report of the Railroad Commission of Washington (Olympia, C. W. Gorham, Public Printer, 1907), p. 98.

[2] Cited by Washington Railroad Commission Report, p. 97.

[3] The Railroad Commission reports in the State of Washington a total of 4057.66 miles of railroad track.

completed, so that logs could be floated from one lake to the other. The Federal government was interested, acquired rights of way, and spent much money on surveys and other preparatory work. Later an effort was made to raise the necessary funds to complete the canal by a special tax levy on property in King County.

The people of the State have entered upon an era of good road making. The University of Washington has established a chair in that useful art and to it has been called Samuel C. Lancaster, one of America's foremost experts. The Legislature has enacted a body of good-road laws, which Samuel Hill, president of the Washington Good Roads Association, has pronounced the best laws on the subject in any of the States. Work under these laws is being inaugurated as rapidly as possible.

Timber, agriculture, fisheries, mining, manufacturing, commerce, transportation, and all other industrial activities are combining to make Washington one of the most prosperous States in the Union.[1]

One very pleasant, as well as enterprising and graphic, way the State has taken to demonstrate its growing wealth and possibilities has been the participation in the great expositions. The most notable occasion of this kind was at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, on which the State of Washington expended nearly a quarter of a million of dollars. After the lapse of fifteen years good results were still being traced to the excellent showing made at that time. The State took creditable part in many other expositions, and in 1907 and 1908 was preparing to be the host for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition to be held in Seattle from June 1 to October 15, 1909. As the rather cumbersome name implies, an effort was to be made to show the marvelous progress of the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean, with special stress on the development of the resources of the far North.

[1] The total amount of this wealth as equalized for purposes of taxation (always below the real value) in 1907 was $530,209,882. The per capita wealth is $483 in realty and $120 in personal property in eastern Washington, and $510 in realty and $83 in personal property in western Washington.

CHAPTER XXIX

POLITICAL GROWTH

THE population of Washington has always been cosmopolitan in character.[1] The first settlers came while the Webster-Hayne and the Webster-Calhoun forensic battles were being fought in the United States Senate over nullification. Those settlers continued to wend their toilsome ways over the Rocky Mountains, while in the Eastern States were raging the bitter contests under the banners of the Free-soil and pro-slavery parties. Between the Compromise of 1850 and the upheaval known as the Kansas-

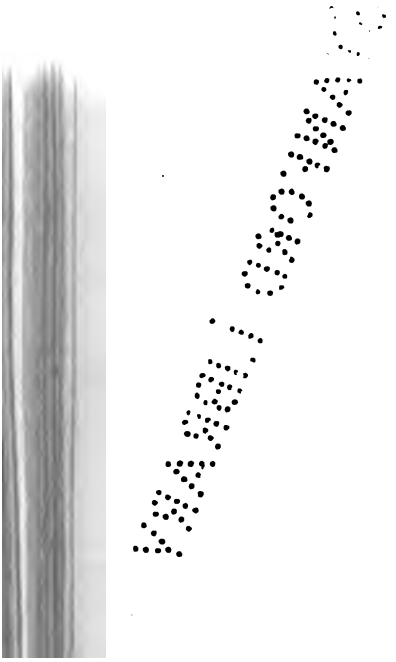
[1] The Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. I, Table LXIII, shows 406,739 native-born Washingtonians, of whom 132,935 were living in the State; page cv shows New York to have the greatest number of foreign-born residents, the State of Washington being number twenty in the list of States, with a total of 111,364; Table LXVII shows the number of residents of the State of Washington who were born in other States and Territories to be a total of 265,844, distributed as follows: Illinois, 22,603; Iowa, 20,015; New York, 18,227; Oregon, 18,216; Minnesota, 17,144; Ohio, 16,762; Missouri, 16,757; Wisconsin, 16,685; Michigan, 13,692; Pennsylvania, 13,604; California, 11,312; Kansas, 11,123; Indiana, 10,671; Nebraska, 6244; Maine, 5821; Kentucky, 3896; Tennessee, 3855; Massachusetts, 3714; Virginia, 3081; Texas, 2705; South Dakota, 2471; North Dakota, 2368; Idaho, 2314; Vermont, 1962; Arkansas, 1938; Colorado, 1842; North Carolina, 1670; New Jersey, 1533; West Virginia, 1354; Maryland, 1205; Connecticut, 1030; other South Central States, 2081; other South Atlantic States, 1807; other North Atlantic States, 1361; other States and Territories, 2652. The 111,364 foreign-born residents are also from widely separated countries as follows: Canada, 18,385; Germany, 16,686; Sweden, 12,737; England, 10,481; Norway, 9,891; Ireland, 7262; Japan, 5767; Denmark, 3626; Scotland, 3623; China, 3462; and others, the above being the ten highest. Indians and others listed brought the total for 1900 to 518,103. The State's Bureau of Statistics, report for 1907, gives the estimated total at 1,158,998, but it is not known whether the above relative distribution as to nativity of the doubled population has been changed.

Nebraska legislation of 1854, the settlers had increased to such an extent that Washington Territory won its separate existence in 1853. Notwithstanding the Compromise of 1850, the politics of the time would have raised up obstacles in the path of Washington Territory if it were not for the fact that the Democrats were in the majority in the Northwest. Oregon's delegate, Joseph Lane, was a forceful leader who could command much strength in such a contest. In fact, after he had been promoted from delegate to United States Senator he had become so much of a favorite that he was nominated for the vice-presidency in 1860 on the Breckenridge ticket. When Delegate Lane espoused the cause of the new Territory, the Democratic opposition was silenced. That this confidence in Lane's political judgment was not misplaced, is seen in the fact that the Territory of Washington remained Democratic down to the outbreak of the war between the States.

The people of the Northwest had come from all parts of the United States. While a majority of them adhered to the Democratic party, their democracy was fundamentally different from that in the East, and especially in the South. Every time the question of slavery arose the people of the Northwest spoke and acted in favor of free soil and against slavery. They would continue as Democrats, but not as pro-slavery Democrats. Washington Territory chose Columbia Lancaster, a Democrat, as first delegate to Congress. He was followed for one year by William H. Wallace, a Whig, and then J. Patton Anderson and Isaac I. Stevens, Democrats, were the delegates from 1855 until the outbreak of the war in 1861. That was, of course, a crucial point. The Territorial Democratic party in its convention deserted its natural and successful leader, Isaac I. Stevens, and refused him a renomination. Instead, the convention named the "silver tongued orator," Seleucius Garfielde. The Independents named the former chief justice, Edward Lander. The Whigs and others who sympathized with the North joined the new Republican party, whose convention was held in Olympia in May, 1861. Fortunately the president of the convention was a newspaper man, Rev. John F. Damon,



ALBERT E. MEAD
Fifth Governor of the State, 1905–1909



who preserved and published in his paper, the *North West*, of Port Townsend, a complete record.[1] Though the lines were sharply drawn and the Republicans won, the real result is somewhat clouded by the vote for the Independent candidate. Judge Lander received 574 votes; Mr. Garfielde, 1073; and Mr. Wallace, 1342. The Republican victory was therefore by a plurality and not by a majority vote. The campaign was described as a very bitter one, and Editor Damon, in announcing the result, proclaimed with enthusiasm that they had "broken down those barriers so long deemed insurmountable."

The balance was almost, but not wholly, changed by that one victory. At the next election, in 1863, George E. Cole, Democrat, was elected as delegate. He was followed, however, in 1865, by the stanch Whig, Arthur A. Denny, who, with others, had become Republican. Alvin Flanders, another Republican, was elected in 1867, and he was followed for two terms by Seleucius Garfielde, who had changed from the Democratic to the Republican party. In the Horace Greeley campaign of 1872, the Territory chose Judge O. B. McFadden, Democrat, as delegate. Judge Orange Jacobs

[1] "The Platform" as published in the *North West* for May 23, 1861, and reprinted in the *Washington Historian*, Vol. I, p. 36, is as follows:

"Whereas, The Government of the United States has been forced to call into the field an army, to suppress rebellion and treason, to maintain the integrity of the Union, to enforce the laws, and to protect the government property, therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Republican Party of the Territory of Washington, in convention assembled, that we have unlimited confidence in the patriotism, perseverance and firmness of the national administration, and that we here pledge to it, in its efforts to maintain the Union to force the laws, protect the government property, our unswerving fidelity.

"Resolved, That we conceive the preservation of our existing National Union, as the first of all patriotic duties; that to its formation and existence are we indebted for all our national greatness; and that by its perpetuity alone can be secured the identity of the American citizen and the fufillment of the missions of the heroes of the Revolution, in establishing it as the great exemplar of free institutions.

"Resolved, That we utterly repudiate and unceasingly denounce and condemn any and all efforts and projects looking to the formation of a Pacific Confederacy.

"Resolved, That we cordially indorse the sentiments of the inaugural address of President Lincoln, and hereby pledge to his administration our hearty confidence and support."



and Judge Thomas H. Brents then led the Republicans to victory in five campaigns, when there arose the agitation over the forfeiture of the unearned land grant of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, resulting in the election of Charles S. Voorhees, Democrat, for two terms. In 1888, the Territory, at its last election, chose John B. Allen, Republican. It may, therefore, be claimed that under normal conditions, the Territory of Washington was Republican in politics from the time of the war between the States to its admission to statehood.

Since then the Republican party has been dominant with one exception. In 1896, the Fusion party (comprising Democrats, Populists, and Free-silver Republicans) carried the State for its national ticket, elected State officers and a large majority of the Legislature, thus securing also a member of the United States Senate. As stated elsewhere, the Republican party secured both congressmen in 1898, and in the following elections restored the normal Republican majorities. In 1908, the pluralities for the Republican ticket, national and State, averaged about fifty thousand. Each of the three congressional districts elected a Republican, and the Legislature had a large Republican majority on joint ballot.

In his review of the constitution, heretofore cited, Judge Stiles says: "In the matter of the elective franchise Washington took an advanced position. None but citizens of the United States can vote; the ballot must be absolutely secret; and registration is compulsory, in all but purely rural communities, where everybody is known. The consequence of these provisions has been that election scandals are almost unknown here, and there is nowhere a more independent body of voters." The first session of the Legislature proceeded to fortify the provisions of the constitution, and all legislation since then has been scrupulously attentive to the protection of the elector's right to cast a secret ballot and have it honestly counted.

The rise and fall of woman suffrage have been recorded in a previous chapter. Although Oregon has been experimenting with direct legislation under the initiative and

referendum amendment to her constitution, the State of Washington has been content thus far to allow the work to progress in the home of this nearest neighbor without attempting an imitation. However, two other items of advanced political methods have been introduced into Washington life. In 1906, the city of Seattle by petition and a heavy vote adopted an amendment to its charter giving the people a chance to recall any unsatisfactory officer of the municipality upon the petition of twenty-five per centum of the electors. It was the first amendment adopted on the initiative of the people, and is certainly indicative of a high class of citizenship in the State's metropolis.[1] The other innovation is the direct primary. The law placing this new method of conducting political affairs into the hands of the people was approved on March 15, 1907. It is an elaborate attempt to do away with the political boss. A declaration of candidacy must be filed not less than thirty nor more than sixty days prior to the primary election. The candidate must also deposit a fee equal to one per centum of a year's salary of the office sought. Where there are more than two candidates for the same nomination the elector is given the chance to vote for a first and a second choice. In case no candidate receives as high as forty per centum of the votes cast, then the first and second choices are to be added, and the one receiving a plurality of these added votes is declared the nominee. An effort is made to place candidates for positions as supreme and superior court judges on a non-partisan basis. An approximation toward the election of United States senators by popular vote is procured. Candidates for that office are voted for, and the successful ones of all parties are certified by the secretary of state to the Legislature on the first day of the session convening next after the primary election. Members of the Legislature may be pledged to vote for the party choice for United States senator. Each candidate for office is required to file an itemized statement of expenses incurred in his campaign for nomination, and papers are prohibited

[1] A. M. Parker, "How Seattle got the Recall," in *Pacific Monthly*, April, 1907, pp. 455–460.

from accepting pay of any kind for an attempt to aid or defeat a candidate unless the articles printed are plainly labelled as paid advertisements. The first operation of the new law was in September, 1908. Several candidates were dissatisfied for one reason or another, and a series of cases were carried to the supreme court of the State, where the provisions of the direct primary law were sustained.

Another evidence of political growth is seen in the amendment to the constitution submitted to the people for approval at the general election in 1908, whereby it was proposed to change the system of taxation by creating a classification of properties. Taxes were to be equal in each class of property, but all classes were not to bear the same tax. It is claimed that such a plan would cure many inequalities of the present system, and permit the taxing of some privileged corporations that escape entirely or nearly so under the older method. Amendments to the constitution require first to be approved by a two-thirds vote of each House of the Legislature. A majority of the electors voting on the amendment at a general election may cause it to become a part of the constitution. This amendment was regularly submitted, but at the election on November 3, 1908, was rejected as a part of the constitution.

This attempt to amend the constitution was an outgrowth of the State's efforts to adjust more satisfactorily the relations toward corporations and other large interests. In 1905, the Legislature created the State Railroad Commission [1] and the State Tax Commission [2] with large powers to regulate the important interests of transportation and taxes. Provision has been made to inspect grain, hops, and oil, and in 1907, there was created the State Board of Food Commission [3] to prevent the adulteration of foods, drinks, and drugs. The laborers in factories, workshops, mills, and mines are sought to be protected in health, life, and limb by the provisions of the law creating the Bureau of Labor.[4] There is no indication that the State of Washington is radical

[1] Washington Laws, 1905, pp. 145–161.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1905, pp. 224–228.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1907, pp. 478–485.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 132–136.



SAMUEL G. COSGROVE
Sixth Governor of the State, who died soon after Inauguration and was succeeded by Lieutenant-governor M. E. Hay



or drastic along these lines, but an earnest effort is being made to keep abreast of the most enlightened progress made by other communities in contriving a fair distribution of burdens and a sane protection against harm and evil at the hands of the unscrupulous.



CHAPTER XXX

SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS

THE best evidence that Washington is socially sound is the consistent attitude of the State toward the school and the church. It is insisted that the two shall be separate, but it is also provided that both shall be liberally and intelligently fostered. All churches are freely tolerated and protected. They are exempt from taxation, and in every way treated with the respect due such institutions in a Christian State. The result is that nearly every denomination known has here its congregations enjoying not only freedom of worship, but the fullest protection of law.

The State has recognized that every child is entitled to an education, and to that end most generous provision has been made. At first it was believed this duty was discharged when the common schools were properly supported. Ten years ago a rather tardy recognition was given to the high school, which before that had had only indirect recognition in the cities as the four highest grades of the common schools. These schools are all supported by a direct State tax, supplemented by the interest accruing from the large irreducible school fund and by special taxes levied in the larger districts. That these schools have been effective and successful is amply demonstrated by the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the year 1893, where it is shown that Washington is one of only seven States in the Union in which less than two per centum of the population are illiterates, unable to read or write.[1] Even this fine showing is surpassed by more

[1] United States Commissioner of Education, Report for 1892–1893, pp. 116, 119.

recent figures which show that the illiterates in this State are only nine and one half to the thousand, or less than one per centum of the whole population. The only two States excelling this record are Oregon and Nebraska.[1]

In every community there are always a few unfortunate children who are deaf, blind, feeble-minded, or otherwise defective. To educate such as these, the Territory of Washington established in 1888 at Vancouver, Clarke County, the School for Defective Youth. The work of this praiseworthy institution had grown to such proportions that in 1905 it was divided. The older institution remains as the State School for the Deaf and the Blind, while a new one — the State Institution for the Feeble-minded — was located at Medical Lake, Spokane County. The State also educates another unfortunate class of youths, warped in morals, at the Washington State Reform School, established in Chehalis, Lewis County, in 1890.

To provide the ever increasing number of teachers needed for the common schools, the state maintains three excellent Normal Schools at Cheney, Ellensburg, and Bellingham. Many teachers are also obtained, especially for the higher grades, from the State College of Washington and the University of Washington.

The State College of Washington is located at Pullman, Whitman County. It was formerly known as the Washington Agricultural College, Experiment Station, and School of Science. It receives the aid granted by the Federal government for such institutions, and also receives generous support from the State. While but seventeen years old, this institution has had a phenomenal success. The results of experiments, discoveries, and actual work of a practical kind, as well as the work of general education, show this college to be among the best of its class in America.

The State's oldest and highest educational institution is the University of Washington. Established in Seattle in 1861, it had a precarious existence at first and encountered a severe struggle through the whole Territorial period. Since statehood it has kept pace with Washington's rapid

[1] Bureau of the Census, Bulletin 26, 1905, p. 10.

growth. Its work and its standards are of such high order that it now enjoys the love and respect of the people of the State and the esteem of educators throughout the nation.

No stronger commentary can be made on the people's generous attitude toward education than to recite the fact that these institutions are well equipped, well supported, and in them tuition is free to all citizens of the State of Washington. To do this work properly, Washington pays out money freely and with the most cheerful spirit whenever a call comes from the schools. This State leads every other State in the Union in the school money expended per capita of population. The aggregate shows that $8.02 are thus spent for every man, woman, and child in the State. The rate in New York is $6.27, and in Massachusetts $5.87.[1]

Besides the State schools and educational institutions there are a large number of parochial and private schools, as well as a few colleges. Among these should be mentioned Whitman College in Walla Walla, Puget Sound University and Whitworth College in Tacoma, and Gonzaga College in Spokane.

Encouragement has been offered for the formation of public libraries, and nearly every city has such an institution, by some called the "People's University." The Carnegie Library in Seattle cost more than a quarter of a million dollars, and the city devotes more than $75,000 a year for its maintenance and for the purchase of books. Rural communities are not without this aid for social improvement, as the State maintains a system of circulating libraries.

Another effective agency for social betterment are the women's clubs. These became so numerous that on September 29, 1896, there was organized the State Federation of Women's Clubs to "bring the women's clubs of the State into communication for acquaintance and mutual helpfulness."[2] The consistent study maintained by these clubs, the preparation and circulation of papers, certainly

[1] Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1906, Vol. I, p. 308.

[2] Constitution of the Federation, Article II.

accomplishes great good in the general intellectual advancement of the community as a whole. It may also be well to record here the fact that the State of Washington has secured representation in the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. This organization is chartered by the State of Virginia and owns, in perpetuity, the tomb, mansion, and farm of George Washington, which are maintained for the nation as shrines of American patriotism. Mrs. Eliza Ferry Leary is vice-regent of that organization for the State of Washington, and she will hold the position for life. It is well that the State bearing Washington's name should be granted this participation, and it is eminently proper that the lady rendering this service should be the daughter of our State's first governor.

Fine arts and literature are never brought to fruition very early in a new community, especially where that community is confronted by the absorbing problems of wild forests, new fields, and mountains of hidden wealth. And yet both literature and the arts are having their beginnings. Earnest pioneers have organized art clubs, and have held exhibitions that give promise of a brilliant future near at hand. Some statuary has been procured, and two pieces would be acceptable to any cultured city on the globe. Rainier Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution engaged the sculptor, Lorado Taft, of Chicago, to make a bronze statue of Washington for the campus of the University of Washington. The citizens of Seattle, through a committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce, raised a fund to erect a statue to the memory of William H. Seward. The sculptor is Richard E. Brooks of New York, a gold medallist of the Paris Salon. These statues mark a new era in the art history of the State. The most prominent literary success in the State has been the poetry and prose writings of Mrs. Ella Higginson of Bellingham. In this place it should also be stated that one of the greatest books of the century has its home in Seattle. This is the monumental work on the North American Indian by Edward S. Curtis. When completed, the work will consist of twenty volumes of illustrated text and twenty portfolios

of Indian pictures. The work is sold for $3000 a set. It has the approval and patronage of President Roosevelt, J. Pierpont Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, officers of the Smithsonian Institution, and others. The State will yet be proud of those volumes as the recognized masterpiece of one of its gifted sons.

Just as the origin of the anti-Masonic political party near Batavia in 1827, the origin of the Mormon church at Palmyra in 1830, and other innovations give rise to the conclusion that western New York, near Rochester, had at that time a population prone to seize upon religious, political, and industrial schemes for radical change, so would a superficial view of the last quarter of a century indicate that the Puget Sound Basin contained a people greatly agitated with social unrest. The evidence provoking such an opinion consists of a series of coöperative, socialistic, and anarchistic colonies.

On January 9, 1883, there was incorporated the Washington Colony with a capital stock of $50,000. The colony had organized in Kansas, and had crossed the plains with the old-fashioned "prairie schooners." The leading spirit was M. A. McPherson, who persuaded Colonel W. F. Prosser, a prominent pioneer, to take a nominal interest in the colony, and thus lend his influence. Several years before, Colonel Prosser had been a congressman from Tennessee, and Mr. McPherson was doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. These facts explain how Colonel Prosser's name heads the list of original incorporators. The colony acquired a mill site at the mouth of Whatcom Creek, and to this day there is a wharf at Bellingham called the Colony Wharf. The colony was really a coöperative corporation. It was not long-lived, nor was it very successful financially.

During the anti-Chinese agitation of 1885 and 1886, a Seattle lawyer, named George Venable Smith, became deeply interested and sought to aid those who were trying to rid the country of Chinese laborers. He obtained a pamphlet telling of the successes of the Topolobampo Colony of Mexico, and at once conceived the idea of attempting a

similar settlement on the shores of Puget Sound. Before the anti-Chinese agitation had fully disappeared his plans were matured. In May, 1887, the Puget Sound Coöperative Colony was incorporated, a prospectus was issued and circulated throughout the East. The response was unexpectedly favorable. Membership required devotion and obedience to the colony, the payment of an initiation fee of $20, and the subscription for one or more lot interests, urban, suburban, or both. With the land subscription went also the subscription for one or more shares of stock at $10 per share. The lots were not high, and varied from $140 to $220 each. Agents were appointed throughout the country, and within eight months the membership reached two thousand and seven, while the money paid in reached $50,000. Lands were secured at Port Angeles, and the colony began active work with various enterprises, including a newspaper called the *Model Commonwealth*, of which Mrs. Laura E. Hall was editor. Mr. Smith became president, and after seeing the colony fairly started, he went east early in 1888 to secure the loan of $25,000 with which to build a logging railroad from the sawmill to the colony timber tract lying back of the town. He succeeded in getting the money, but in his absence trouble had arisen over the management of affairs. The colony was disincorporated as a coöperative labor organization, and it then became a simpler joint-stock company. New enterprises were undertaken entailing new debts, and although much property had been acquired, it became necessary in 1895 to have a receiver appointed and sell the property at a sacrifice.[1]

A socialist colony at Glennis, near Tacoma, collapsed in the fall of 1896, leaving, among others, Mr. O. A. Verity, Mr. L. F. Odell, and Mr. George H. Allen and their families stranded and bankrupt. Mr. Allen was a graduate of Toronto University, class of 1885, and easily obtained a position as school-teacher. He used the first $20 earned to help his friends move their household goods to Joes Bay, a

[1] *Clallam County Courier*, Port Angeles, December 31, 1898.

sheltered cove on Puget Sound, about twenty miles from Tacoma. There they obtained possession of uncleared land, and began the building of a community which they called Home. To avoid the disaster that had overtaken the Glennis colony, they refrained from adopting rules and regulations. They tried to submerge every selfish instinct. Because they thought it wrong to kill just to satisfy their own appetites, they became vegetarians. They contributed of labor and materials to build a school called Liberty Hall, which should also serve as the meeting place for the community. Speakers of any creed or sect were welcomed, the only consideration being that the speaker must submit to a respectful answer from any member of the colony who desired to reply. No one should do anything to discomfort or injure another. Beyond this the colony made no restraint for its members. There was no resistance to the authority of the county or the State. Their newspaper was called the *Discontent*. It had to suspend publication for lack of support, though its editor was the talented grandson of Rev. S. F. Smith, author of our national hymn "America." This editor was James Morton, a graduate of Harvard, class of 1892. He wore the prized key of Phi Beta Kappa. Besides being editor he taught a good school without rules or the use of force. As the colony grew and prospered, the members were surprised to learn from a visitor that they were non-resistant anarchists. This definition was published, much to the injury of the colony of Home. When President McKinley was assassinated, members of the Patriotic League of Tacoma raised the cry: "Clean out the nest of anarchy on the sound!" Members of the colony decided to receive the assailants at the wharf, conduct them to their homes, and to submit to death without a murmur. When the Patriotic League heard of that programme, the proposed attack was immediately abandoned. Writing in 1903, Professor Slosson, of the University of Wyoming, says: "It is so rare to find a group of radical social reformers who are willing to take their own medicine and experiment on themselves for our benefit and their own, that such communities as Home deserve the unprejudiced con-

sideration of those even who have little sympathy with them." [1] The colony still exists with a membership in 1908 of one hundred and seventeen. The value of its property is steadily increasing, and visitors are welcomed.[2]

The Coöperative Brotherhood was organized in 1898. It was an outgrowth of the Social Democracy, founded by Eugene V. Debs. It was proposed by the Brotherhood to plant colonies in various parts of the country and permit members or coöperators to avail themselves of one or another if change of environment should be desired. It was wished that one colony should first be proved a success, so energies were centered and lands secured on a bay about one hour's ride from Tacoma. The place was called Burley, after a creek by that name which runs through the town. One of the coöperators, Rev. W. E. Copeland, describes it as "a village without church, saloon, jail, almshouse, bank, money, or police." [3] Non-resident members pay $1 a month for ten years. At the end of five years or any time thereafter such non-resident members, if unable to support themselves, are to receive homes in one of the colonies of the Brotherhood. Mr. Copeland claims it is an effort to arrive at the difficult condition of full and free cooperation. He was full of confident hope as the colony was entering its fifth year, and concluded his article with these words: "While not claiming to have solved the Social Problem, so complex and so confusing, we do think we have found a way by which industrious, honest, and energetic

[1] E. E. Slosson, "An Experiment in Anarchy," in the *Independent*, New York, for April 2, 1903, pp. 779–785. The facts and pictures for the article were obtained at the colony by Professor H. G. Byers, of the University of Washington, who turned them over to Professor Slosson.

H. V. Railsback, assessor of Pierce County, in a letter dated November 10, 1908, says the Home Mutual Association's colony is still in existence, though some friction among the members is reported. The colony is assessed with 184 acres of land valued at $2465 and improvements valued at $3285.

[2] Letter from George H. Allen, dated at Home, November 1, 1908.

[3] W. E. Copeland, "The Coöperative Brotherhood and its Colony," in the *Independent* for February 5, 1903, pp. 317–323.

men and women may secure homes, employment, and a good return for their labor." [1]

Another social colony was attempted at a place called Equality near Bow, in Skagit County. It was known as the Freeland Colony, and acquired a membership of about two hundred before dissensions produced trouble and the appointment of a receiver. In 1904 the colony property, sold by order of the court to satisfy creditors, amounted to about $25,000.

Some future historian, coming upon a bare recital of so many attempts at more or less socialistic colonizing, would be justified in saying the Puget Sound Basin was a favorable place for originating new schemes to change the social order. Yet all this time the normal citizen has looked on with equanimity, heedless of any taint such schemes might cast on the reputation of the State, and perfectly willing that the plans should succeed if the promoters' hopes could be realized. The colonies were all exotics. Nearly every member was recruited and brought to Puget Sound from some other State. The mildness of the climate and the ease with which the necessities of life may be obtained from the soil, the forests, and the waters of the Puget Sound Basin are the main reasons why such experimenters have directed their efforts toward this region.

In Territorial days the sawmill and coal-mining companies maintained "company stores." Since statehood, legislation has been enacted to cure the evils that had been allowed to encumber the management of some of those institutions which had often reduced to the minimum the earning capacity of the laborers.

There is another set of facts in recent State history which

[1] The Brotherhood planted no other colonies, but the one at Burley still exists. In a letter dated at Burley, November 11, 1908, Secretary-treasurer A. B. Ellis reports that the colony is making substantial progress, quoting the value of its property at between $30,000 and $40,000. Though there are 150 members of the Brotherhood, only 17 reside at Burley. Thirteen other residents bring the population of the village to 30. In a letter dated at Port Orchard, November 12, 1908, Theo. B. Helstad, deputy assessor of Kitsap County, states that the official valuation of the colony's property at Burley for taxation purposes is $7500.

may be taken as evidence of social advance. Reference is here made to the efforts to elevate, dignify, and protect certain professions and vocations. At an early date provision was made to examine and certificate those who wished to practice in the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, and school-teaching. Recently the pharmacists [1] and veterinarians [2] have received similar protection. It may now be said that about the only professions for which the law does not provide a system of examination and certification are those of the preacher and the journalist. The Federal government provides an adequate system for licensing marine masters, pilots, and engineers, and the rigid system of promotion secures efficiency in locomotive engineers and firemen. The State recognizes the locomotive engineer's position by excusing him from jury service.[3] Horseshoers in cities of the first class must now be examined and registered.[4] Examinations and licenses are provided for all plumbers who wish to work at that occupation in cities of the first class.[5] Barbers may not practice their business lawfully in any incorporated town or city without first passing an examination and securing a certificate of registration.[6] The State Board of Accountancy is authorized to examine applicants and pronounce each successful one: "Certified Public Accountant." [7]

Besides the safeguards secured in these laws, those pursuing the professions and vocations have State associations, holding annual meetings at which the betterment of each one's life-work is earnestly sought. This is true also of such uncertificated professions and callings as those of bankers, journalists, lumbermen, miners, and preachers of the different denominations.

In the cases of those who are confirmed criminals the State has acted with a wholesome severity. If it be proved that a person convicted of a felony has been once before

[1] Washington Laws, 1899, pp. 216–224. Amending laws on the same subject of 1891 and 1893.
[2] Washington Laws, 1907, pp. 228–233.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1899, pp. 123–125.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 94–97.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 349–352.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1903, pp. 99–101.

convicted of a felony, within or without this State, he shall be sentenced to twice the term his latest crime would call for, and if it be proved that he had been twice convicted of felonies "he shall be sentenced to the penitentiary for the term of his natural life." [1]

In the matter of divorce, the commonwealth has passed through a social evolution. In the early part of the Territorial period many private laws were enacted granting divorces. Arthur A. Denny told the writer that Governor Fayette McMullin accepted the office, and came to this Territory to obtain such a divorce. Mr. Denny was plied to vote for the measure, but refused. He never would vote for a divorce bill, and always told the applicants to go to the courts for their divorces. But the governor got his legislative divorce, and afterwards married Miss Mary Wood of Olympia. Mr. McMullin was governor from 1857 to 1859. William Pickering, the war governor, in his first gubernatorial message to the Legislature, on December 17, 1862, had this to say on the subject: "I should be recreant to the duties I owe to society, if I failed to call your serious attention to the sad and immoral effects, growing out of the readiness with which our legislative assemblies have heretofore annulled that most solemn contract of marriage. Let me earnestly invoke you to stay the evils, which result from the Legislature granting divorces, thereby destroying the sacred responsibilities and duties of husband and wife merely upon the request, or petition, of one of the parties." [2] Still that same session enacted sixteen such private bills, and at the following session the governor renewed his objections. In January, 1866, the Legislature enacted a law declaring marriage to be a civil contract,[3] which would throw the consideration of divorce into the courts. In 1868, another divorce bill was passed, but it was vetoed by the governor, and subsequent efforts to revive the practice failed. The attempted constitution of 1878 declared

[1] Washington Laws, 1903, pp. 125–127.
[2] Washington House Journal, 1862–1863, pp. 31–32.
[3] Washington Laws, 1865–1866, pp. 80–85.

against such legislative divorces, as did the approved constitution of 1889.

In addition to the great and generous support of education the State of Washington is also attentive to its eleemosynary duties. For eighteen years the Washington Soldiers' Home was maintained at Orting when that work was expanded by the Legislature, providing in 1907 a branch institution called the Washington Veterans' Home, in which not only the veterans, but their wives as well, receive shelter and care. Two hospitals for the insane are supported, — one at Steilacoom, in Pierce County, and one at Medical Lake, in Spokane County. Laws have been approved to facilitate the care of orphaned children. Nearly every city in the State has well-supported charities for the homeless, friendless, and unfortunates.[1] The aggregate record of charity, if compiled, would certainly demonstrate that the people of Washington, in their corporate, collective and individual capacities, are generous and kind-hearted as well as intellectual and progressive.

[1] On January 13, 1907, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* quoted the following from an annual report: "A little more than ten years ago, the Washington Children's Home Society was organized in this State. It is an interdenominational Christian organization, federated with the National Children's Home Society, comprising now twenty-seven States in the Union, the last to join the federation being the great State of New York"; and again, speaking of the work in Washington: "During the past year two hundred and eighty-six children were cared for, either in the house or through the work of its officers."



CHAPTER XXXI

FEDERAL ACTIVITY IN THE STATE

When Jefferson returned from France to take his place as Secretary of State in Washington's first Cabinet, he boldly asserted his belief that Vice-president Adams, Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton, Secretary of War Knox, and their followers were scheming to "construe" the government into a monarchy. He and his political adherents opposed the idea in each of its fancied forms, and became "strict constructionists." Here was drawn the line on either side of which political parties have arrayed themselves, and fought campaigns to many defeats and victories. The danger of a monarchy was averted. Jefferson claimed that the second revolution was prevented by the patriotism of Washington alone. Through the six administrations of Jefferson and his two political heirs, Madison and Monroe, the strict construction ideas held sway for a quarter of a century. And yet the mutations of a hundred years now reveal in the ascendant the fundamental thought of the Federalists, — of the party of Washington and Hamilton, — the thought of strong and increasing power in the Federal government. The busy citizen rarely pauses long enough to ask himself how much power the Federal government exercises in his own community. No one known to the present writer has undertaken the task of compiling the facts to show the extent of this power and activity in any one of the States of the Union. Washington, — lying next to a foreign power, possessing a gateway to the Pacific, with shores to be lighted, protected, and patrolled, possessing mountains to be explored, forests to be managed, arid lands to be irrigated, Indians to be guarded, — Washington

is well situated to call forth every kind of Federal activity which now or hereafter may be exercised in any State by the republic. The State of Washington reached its maximum of expenditures in the legislative session of 1907.[1] The aggregate expenditures of the counties, cities, and other minor civil divisions of the State for the same time would more than double that sum. But considering the aggregate expenditures of the sovereign State, as such, and comparing them with the expenditures for a year by the Federal government within the State, it will be found that the outlay of the State for all purposes is greatly exceeded by that of the nation in the same area. This same ratio of aggregates may not continue when the State becomes more populous and more wealthy. The facts here compiled may then be looked upon as evidence of the nation helping to develop the resources and possibilities of one of its younger States.

The event that should be cited as the first activity by the Federal government in the Pacific Northwest was the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In 1836, President Jackson sent W. A. Slacum as a special agent to investigate the region, and in 1841, the United States Exploring Expedition under Charles Wilkes made some important surveys. Frémont's work followed, and about the same time the first resident officer was located in Old Oregon — Doctor Elijah White, the sub-agent of Indian affairs. After the Territory of Oregon was organized in 1849, courts, post-offices, army posts, and land offices were established. When Washington Territory was organized in 1853, the region was already under a considerable measure of Federal control. That control has continuously expanded in scope and volume to the present time.

The agency by which the work of the Federal government is brought close to the largest number of people is, of course, the post-office. In every city, every hamlet, every important cross-road, there is evidence of this im-

[1] A careful search through the laws shows the total appropriations for the biennium of 1907–1909 to be $6,814,916.94, or $3,407,458.47 for each of the two years.

portant institution. The magnitude of its total work at the present time is almost incredible, reaching an aggregate of more than $2,000,000 in a single year.[1] It should be pointed out that a large part of this money is furnished by the people of the State who buy stamps, hire post-office boxes, and in other ways contribute to post-office revenues.

In a relatively new State, where there still remain considerable quantities of public lands, the work of the General Land Office is of peculiar interest to many citizens. The office of United States Surveyor-general in this State, and the local land offices cost more than $100,000 a year. In buying the public lands, the people pay much more than that aggregate of cost.

In the great work of irrigation, known as the United States Reclamation Service, there is furnished employment for many teamsters and laborers. In addition there are more than a hundred employees holding appointments from the Secretary of the Interior and in registered positions. The total net expenditures in this State since the passage of the reclamation act on June 17, 1902, must now be written in terms of millions.[2] Reference was made in

[1] Letter from the office of Postmaster-general, dated October 31, 1908, giving the returns for the year ending September 30, 1908. The cost of mail transportation in this State was $763,151.06. The 171 railway postal clerks received $187,660 in salaries; 243 rural delivery carriers received $220,032; 1012 postmasters cost the government $392,971. There were 291 carriers and 368 clerks. Clerk hire (including assistant postmasters) cost $350, 471 in first and second class offices and $21,500 in third and fourth class offices. Total cost for city delivery was $277,069.96. Annual cost for contract stations, temporary and vacation service, rent, light, fuel, canceling machines, and incidental items was $87,300. This makes a total of $2,300,154.02 in the one year, exclusive of such items as the cost of the Post-office Inspectors' Service.

[2] A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated November 4, 1908, gives the figures for the Reclamation Service and the work of the General Land Office. From June 17, 1902, to June 30, 1908, there had been expended on the reclaiming of arid lands in this State the total of $1,607,000 and for the single fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, the expenditure was $800,000. The Surveyor-general employs 11 persons at a cost of $16,056; the land offices employ 29 persons at $57,940; two examiners of surveys receive $5500; twelve special

a previous chapter to the source of revenue for, and the probable scope of, this work of reclaiming arid or semi-arid lands.

In addition to surveying the lands, conveying titles to the people, and helping, from the proceeds, to irrigate large sections, the Federal government has undertaken the work of educating and encouraging the farmers in the use of the land. There are now three funds devoted to these purposes. The Morrill fund yields $25,000, and the Hatch fund $15,000 a year. The more recent Adams fund is on an increasing ratio up to a maximum of $40,000.[1] It is not practicable to state just how many persons are given employment by these funds, since some of the professors and officers perform duties that require their compensation to be drawn partly from these funds and partly from State funds.

Agriculture, shipping, and other interests are much benefited by the regular and continuous service of the Weather Bureau. The work in this State employs thirty-five persons, at an annual expense of $29,347.70.[2]

As previously stated, the Federal government has reserved over eight million acres of forests in this State. The work of conserving this great resource furnishes regular employment to about one hundred persons, and to many more temporary laborers as needed from season to season.[3]

Mt. Rainier National Park is destined to become one of the most attractive parks in the world. Persons familiar with the Alps and other mountain regions fre-

agents and clerks, $14,040; four timber cruisers and miners, $10,220; making an annual total for this branch of service of $103,756.

[1] The maximum under the Adams fund will be reached in 1912. During the year 1908, a total of $54,000 was expended from these three funds in the State of Washington.

[2] Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, dated October 28, 1908.

[3] Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, dated November 4, 1908. The expenditures on the national forests in this State were $42,513.02 for the year 1907 and $118,997.73 for 1908. Net receipts from the sale of forest products, grazing, and other privileges were $37,315.51 for 1907 and $72,131.16 for 1908.

quently declare, on visiting Paradise Valley and the upper slopes of the mountain, that the earth does not contain more beautiful or more inspiring combinations of scenery. It is a little difficult to compile the facts of the government's work in the park. The acting superintendent is an officer of the Forest Service, and draws his compensation from the funds of the Department of Agriculture, and Congress has appropriated moneys to be expended on the park by the Interior and War departments. The reason for utilizing the War Department was the need of a road, twenty-three miles long, from the edge of the park to the region of perpetual snow.[1] This work is in charge of the Engineer Corps of the United States army, while the management of the park is in charge of the Interior Department. Prior to the building of the excellent road, there was an inferior wagon road leading into the park from its western boundary to Longmire Springs, and rough trails extended from there to the Camp of the Clouds. The new road was begun in 1903.[2] In time this road will be extended eastward into the Yakima Valley. In 1904, the eastern road was surveyed, and at the request of Congress, an estimate of its cost was made. The cost from the end of the present road to Bumping Lake, in the national forest, but outside of the Mt. Rainier Park, was given as a total of $275,000.[3] When this road is completed, it will be possible for tourists to leave the train at North Yakima and travel over the beautiful mountain

[1] Letter from the United States Engineer Office, Seattle, dated November 13, 1908. The appropriation for the road work in 1908 was $50,000. It was expended by September 26, 1908, when work was suspended for the year. On that date 19½ miles of the road were finished, leaving 3½ miles to be made during the season of 1909. The total appropriations for this work amount to $190,000, of which $20,000 was expended on surveys and the balance on the road. The average number of persons employed during the working seasons has been two hundred.

[2] Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, 1907, p. 857.

[3] Letter from the Secretary of War, House of Representatives, Document No. 283, 3d Session, 58th Congress. Serial No. 4832, Public Documents, accompanied by a map.

road through the park to the Tacoma Eastern Railway station at Ashford.

There are eighteen Indian reservations in the State of Washington, of which fifteen are west of the Cascade Mountains. The Indian service in the State employs one hundred and sixty-nine persons.[1]

Occasionally the Bureau of Fisheries is represented in the waters of the State by visits from the steamer *Albatross* in making fishery explorations. In addition the Bureau has a superintendent in charge of the Baker Lake station, and with him are a fish culturist, two laborers regularly, and a number of extra laborers as needed. A field superintendent gives part of his time to that station. Washington men have also received employment for the Bureau of Fisheries elsewhere. The superintendent, fish culturist, and one laborer at Clackamas station, Oregon, and one laborer at Yes Bay station, Alaska, are Washington men, as is also one assistant agent of the seal fisheries of Alaska.[2]

Interesting game reserves have been set aside along the Pacific Ocean shores, but they have not as yet been placed in the charge of keepers. Their custody rests with the Department of Agriculture.

Meat inspection is a service of vital interest to the people, but as it is done at the packing-houses few are aware of its thoroughness, extent, or cost. Engaged in this work are thirty-five men, mostly in Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane.[3]

Systematic geologic work by the Federal government

[1] Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated November 4, 1908. The cost of this service for the fiscal year of 1907 was $226,895.38.

[2] Not much money is involved in this service. The superintendent receives $1500 a year; the fish culturist, $900; and the laborers $540 each.

[3] Letter from O. B. Hess, inspector in charge of the local office of the Bureau of Animal Industry, dated at Seattle, November 17, 1908; and letter from the Bureau of Animal Industry, dated at Washington, December 22, 1908. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, the meat inspection in the State cost $28,251.02; and at the same time the Bureau expended $2371.31 in inspection for the eradication of sheep scab.

was begun in this State in 1895 by Bailey Willis, assisted continuously by George Otis Smith to 1898, and in 1897 by Israel Cook Russell. It was continued from 1898 to 1902 by George Otis Smith, assisted by F. C. Calkins. Work was also done in 1898–1899 by Israel Cook Russell, in 1899 by Waldemar Lindgren, in 1900 by J. E. Spurr, and in 1901 by F. L. Ransome. The total cost of that work has been about $46,000. It has resulted in the detailed areal and economic survey of four quadrangles: Tacoma, Mt. Stuart, Ellensburg, and Snoqualmie, and the survey of the Monte Cristo mining district, geologic examinations along the greater part of the international boundary, and geologic reconnoissance of the Cascade Mountains and the Snake River Valley.

For a number of years the United States Geological Survey has made a statistical canvass of the mineral industries of the State of Washington, results of which are published in the annual report, "Mineral Resources of the United States." It is not possible to give the cost of this work, though it showed the mineral resources of the State to be of great variety and value.[1]

Topographic surveys were begun in Washington in 1893–1894, since which time the Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Glacier Peak, Stillaguamish, Chelan, Methow, Mt. Stuart, Ellensburg, Mt. Aix, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, Blaine, Chiwaukim, Chopaka, Mt. Adams, Oakesdale, Okanogan, Osooyos, Republic, Stehekin, Sumas, Zillah, Pullman, Blalock Island, Umatilla, and Portland (the last three embracing part of Oregon and part of Washington) quadrangles, comprising an area of about eighteen thousand four hundred square miles, have been surveyed, and

[1] The Secretary of the Interior, in a letter dated November 4, 1908, says that during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, the State of Washington produced the following: clay products, $921,934; coal, 3,680,532 short tons, $7,679,801; copper, 122,263 pounds, $24,453; gold, 12,689 fine ounces (Troy), $262,300; lead, 281 short tons, $29,786; lime, 35,913 short tons, $238,568; mineral waters, 68,400 gallons sold, $10,820; sand and gravel, 403,960 short tons, $179,800; silver, 84,000 fine ounces (Troy), $55,400; stone, $920,254; tungsten, $32,500; antimony, arsenic, Portland cement, precious stones, and sand-lime brick, $262,090; a total for the year of $11,617,706.

the corresponding topographic sheets have been published by the Geological Survey.[1]

The water resource of the State has been carefully measured. Gauging stations on Washington streams have been regularly maintained since 1895, the work having been localized at fifty-one stations. The highest number maintained at any one time was forty-two stations, nearly all of them on the east side of the Cascade Mountains. Prior to June 30, 1902, the accounts of this service were not segregated, but since that date $2000 a year has been the amount given to the work in this State. In addition to the stream gaugings there have been three important investigations of underground waters in Washington.[2] These researches were made by Mr. Russell, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Calkins, accepted authorities on such subjects among Americans.[3]

The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey has done an enormous amount of work in surveying and charting our coasts and establishing accurately the latitude and longitude of various points.[4] Several survey schooners winter in Puget Sound, and then secure crews and supplies here for the summer's work on the Alaskan coasts. All this would naturally involve the employment of many persons and the expenditure of considerable sums of money. There has been no segregation of the items. The book entitled "Officers and Employees of the Depart-

[1] From 1893 to 1903 approximately $177,000 was expended on the topographic surveys, and the amount expended from 1903 to 1908 was $62,900.

[2] Israel Cook Russel, "A Reconnaissance in Southeastern Washington," Water Supply Paper No. 4, publication of the United States Geological Survey.

George Otis Smith, "Geology and Water Resources of a Portion of Yakima County, Washington," Water Supply Paper No. 55.

F. C. Calkins, "Geology and Water Resources of a Portion of East-central Washington," Water Supply Paper No. 118.

[3] The information about the work of the Geological Survey is obtained from a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated November 4, 1908.

[4] One station very near the present site of the Federal Building in Seattle was found to be in latitude 47° 36′ 30″ and in longitude 122° 20′.

ment of Commerce and Labor, 1908," shows but five regular officers and employees — two assistants, one skilled laborer and tide observer, one mate, and one pilot for Alaskan waters — in the State of Washington, drawing an aggregate of $10,060 in salaries. It is apparent that this is altogether too small as to the number of persons and amount expended, and it would be an almost endless task to compute the cost of the compilation, publication, and distribution of the charts and reports pertaining to these harbors and coasts.

Some idea of the magnitude of the Lighthouse Establishment of America may be had from the fact that of the total number 9806, of employees listed in the Department of Commerce and Labor in the year 1908, more than half, or 5392, were in the Lighthouse Service. Of the work in this State, United States Senator Piles has said: "Already we have excellently equipped light stations at Cape Disappointment, Destruction Island, Tatoosh Island or Cape Flattery, Ediz Hook, New Dungeness, Smith Island, Point Wilson, Point-No-Point, West Point, Robinson Point, Turn Point, and Patos Island. They are doing well their part in averting tragedies of the deep, but we need to give our shipping all the aid that money, judiciously expended, can provide." [1] A visit to Tatoosh Island, or any other of the best lighthouses, will disclose the fact that the government has expended much money in building and equipping them. These amounts have not been learned, nor can it be ascertained how much it costs for oil, fuel, rations, and other supplies. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor reports: "The amounts disbursed not being recorded by States, considerable labor would be involved in making even an estimate." [2]

Washington is in the thirteenth district of the Lighthouse Service, with headquarters at Portland, Oregon. The inspector in charge is a commander in the United

[1] Samuel H. Piles, "Aids to Navigation on the Washington Coast," in *Washington Magazine*, Seattle, May, 1906, p. 167.

[2] Letter from Acting Secretary Charles Earl, dated October 23, 1908.

States navy, and receives the pay of that rank. The clerks and helpers in the office are paid an aggregate of $8620 a year. The engineer service has a lieutenant-colonel of the United States army in charge, and he receives the pay of his rank. Under him are superintendents and clerks who are paid a total of $16,320 a year. There are three tenders, the *Armeria*, *Columbine*, and *Heather*, whose crews are paid annually the sums of $10,080, $7420, and $10,060, respectively. All that can here be said is that a portion of all these expenditures is justly chargeable to the service in the State of Washington.

Besides those employed in the lighthouses there are a number of keepers of lights at important points where there are no houses. On account of being supplied with rations the pay of light-keepers is low. The highest salaries paid to keepers are to those at Tatoosh Island and Destruction Island, who each receive $900 a year. The usual pay for that office is $800 a year; first assistants receive $600; second and third assistants, $550. Washington is credited with the appointment of the mate on Light Vessel No. 50, and with the assistant engineer on Light Vessel No. 67, each of whom receive $1000 a year in salary. Carpenters and other helpers are hired by the day as needed.[1]

The Life-saving Service is closely associated in the public mind with the Lighthouse Service, and yet the two are managed by different Cabinet officers. Since the disastrous wreck of the *Valencia* on the coast of Vancouver Island, in 1905, there has been some concerted effort to increase this service, one result being the new station on Waaddah Island, in the mouth of Neah Bay, and near Cape Flattery. In urging these needs Senator Piles has shown that, since the first life-saving station was established on the coast of Washington in 1877, probably a thousand people have lost their lives from wreck, either off the mouth of the Columbia River, the Washington coast, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, or the coast of Vancouver

[1] For 1908 there were forty-seven keepers and assistants listed in this State, at an aggregate of salaries of $33,920.

Island. He reviews some of the wrecks and adds: "That the work of the life-saving crews was all that human skill and endurance could provide, with the limited appliances at hand, is abundantly proved by the records." [1]

The bureau of the Treasury Department known as the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service employs forty-three persons in the State of Washington, and their annual salaries amount to $39,410.

There are ten districts in the Steamboat Inspection Service. The headquarters of the first district are at San Francisco and of the second district at New York. The first district embraces California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. For many years John Bermingham has been supervising inspector of the district. His salary is $3000 a year. A portion of that and of his office expenses is chargeable to the work in Washington. The office at Seattle has an inspector of hulls and an inspector of boilers, each at an annual salary of $2250. There are also eight assistant inspectors at $1600 each, a clerk at $1500, and a clerk at $1300, making a total of twelve persons in the office at an aggregate of $20,100 in yearly salaries.

The Customs Service in the State of Washington employs one hundred and forty persons who receive in yearly salaries a total of $147,403. The amount paid for expenses is not here available, though it would naturally be large, inasmuch as the revenue cutters and other guards against smuggling are expensive kinds of service. Headquarters

[1] Samuel H. Piles, in *Washington Magazine*, May, 1906, p. 166: "Captain Kimball has furnished the following figures, taken from reports in his office, of marine casualties on the coast of Washington since the establishment of the life-saving stations: number of casualties, 192; number of persons involved, 2055; number of lives lost, 45; number of persons succored at stations, 167; total value of property involved, $3,640,735; value of property saved, $1,884,430; value of property lost, $1,756,305. In analyzing the foregoing figures the reader should not overlook the fact that they deal with casualties that came within the sphere of the life-saving stations. The aggregate loss of life and property during the period referred to is far in excess of the totals given. It is probable that no one is able to tell how many lives have been lost or how much property has been destroyed by marine disaster in this section during the past forty years."

for the service in this State are at Port Townsend. There are, besides, seventeen subports in the State.[1]

The Internal Revenue Service employs twenty-seven persons in this State at an aggregate of $39,728.44 in yearly salaries.[2]

Washington is in the ninth circuit of the United States Court. The supreme court justice assigned to this circuit is Joseph McKenna; the three circuit judges are William B. Gilbert, Erskine M. Ross, and William W. Morrow. There are two district judges, — Cornelius H. Hanford for western Washington and Edward Whitson for eastern Washington. Judge Hanford was appointed on February 25, 1890, and Judge Whitson on March 14, 1905. During the fifteen years between those two dates, Judge Hanford had the entire State for his district. He was at that time the hardest-working judge on the Federal bench, as shown by the volume of business recorded in the public documents. Each of the two district courts has a separate United States attorney and marshal, assistants, clerks, deputies, stenographers, and messengers. The judges appoint United States commissioners who render certain services for the court and receive their compensation in fees. In western Washington there are twenty-two of these, and in eastern Washington; fifty-four. The clerks of the circuit and district courts also receive their compensation in fees. Each of the three circuit judges receives $7000 a year and part of that sum of $21,000 is chargeable to Washington. Each of the district judges receives $6000 a year; each United States attorney receives $4500, and each marshal $4000.[3]

[1] State of Washington, Bureau of Statistics, 1907, Appendix, p. 38. The subports listed are as follows: Tacoma, Seattle, Everett, Bellingham, Blaine, Port Angeles, Northport, Roche Harbor, Aberdeen, Anacortes, Sumas, Danville, Friday Harbor, South Bend, Spokane, Oroville, Molson. The total cash receipts at these ports show a rapid increase. In 1904, they were $872,692.37 and for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, they were $1,705,089.82.

[2] During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, the receipts for internal revenue in the State of Washington amounted to the total of $1,046,000.

[3] In western Washington the attorney has one assistant at $2000,

The United States Department of Justice, which has a general supervision of matters pertaining to the courts, is also charged with the care of Federal prisoners. In a large majority of cases the prisoners are confined in State institutions, where their care and maintenance are paid for by the United States. The government maintains three penitentiaries — one at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, one at Atlanta, Georgia, and one on McNeil Island, Washington. There are a number of interesting phases about the one in the State of Washington. Congress made provision for the erection of the penitentiary by an act approved January 22, 1867.[1] Three citizens of Washington Territory were appointed to select a suitable site. They wished to favor Steilacoom by locating it there. But the claims of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to all the lands in that vicinity had not been fully adjusted. The representative of the company was Edward Huggins, who refused to grant or sell a quit-claim deed.[2] Sufficient lands were offered on McNeil Island, about three miles from Steilacoom, and the $20,000 appropriated was at once used for the erection of the first buildings at that place. In 1873, another appropriation of $20,000 was made for needed improvements, and another sum of $7000 was made available in 1874. When Washington was admitted into the Union, it was thought that Section 15 of the Enabling Act, providing aid for State penitentiaries, intended to convey this prison to the new State. Evidently the Federal authorities were anxious to get rid of it, for in 1890, an offer was made to transfer the prison to the State; "but the governor [Ferry] of the State declined to accept the

another at $1500, and a clerk at $1000; the marshal has six office deputies whose salaries aggregate $8650 a year. In eastern Washington the attorney has one assistant at a salary of $1800 and a clerk at $1080; the marshal has four office deputies at a total of $5100 in salaries. The two courts furnish employment to four officers and partial employment to seventy-six United States commissioners, all of whom are compensated by fees. The judges, attorneys, marshals, and their assistants number twenty-one, and their annual salaries amount to $50,130.

[1] Report of the United States Attorney-general, 1897, p. xxii.

[2] Letter from Edward Huggins, dated at Steilacoom, April 7, 1902.

institution with the prisoners therein until specified authority for its acceptance had been conferred on him by the Legislature of Washington. This apparently has never been done, and the United States marshal accordingly was directed to continue to conduct the penitentiary as before." [1] Congress recently appropriated $36,000 for constructing a new wing to the prison and otherwise improving it, on completion of which improvements the penitentiary will accommodate about two hundred prisoners.[2] This institution furnishes employment to sixteen persons, and the total cost is about $30,000 a year.[3]

In the early Territorial days, while danger from Indian attack was still imminent, the presence of small portions of the United States army at strategical points was a source of great comfort to the settlers. Such danger passed in time, but Washington being a frontier State, the government continued to sustain and occupy a number of the forts. The headquarters of the Department of the Columbia are located at Vancouver Barracks, in Clarke County. Next in age is Fort Walla Walla, adjoining the city of that name. Near Spokane is Fort George Wright, and Fort Lawton is on the edge of the city of Seattle. At these four forts there are employed 166 officers and 2434 enlisted men.

There are four coast defense forts on Puget Sound. These are Fort Flagler, Fort Worden, and Fort Casey near Port Townsend at the entrance to Admiralty Inlet; and Fort Ward near the entrance to Port Orchard, where the Navy Yard, Puget Sound, is located. The National Coast Defense Board estimated that the total cost of the necessary defenses of Puget Sound would be $9,800,264.14. In addition to those expenditures, the Endicott Board, in 1886, estimated the cost of the defenses of Portland,

[1] Report of the United States Attorney-general, 1901, p. 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 45.
[3] Letter from O. P. Halligan, warden, dated November 16, 1908. The amount expended for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, was $30,695.03, of which $14,659.66 was for salaries and $16,035.37 for the expense of maintenance.

Oregon, which include Forts Canby and Columbia on the Washington side of the mouth of the Columbia River, to be $2,919,000, and the National Defense Board, in 1906, submitted an additional estimate of $1,041,362 for the same points. These six coast defense forts employ 42 officers and 1485 enlisted men.[1] General Brush, commanding the Department of the Columbia, United States army, says: "The information asked for in reference to expenditures by the government is not on file here, and it would be impossible to even approximate the amount expended, as these funds come from different appropriations and some are expended from Washington without this Department knowing anything as to the amount expended." In spite of these difficulties a partial estimate is here attempted. The local office of the paymaster-general at Seattle accounted for more than $1,033,000 during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908. Of this total, the sum of $742,000 was expended from the Seattle office. The local office at Portland, Oregon, would expend within the State of Washington a sum fully as great. So it is safe to say that the aggregate paid in the State is as great as $1,400,000 a year.[2] The Commissary Department has three offices on the Pacific coast — at San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. The local office in Seattle is in

[1] A letter from Brigader-general Daniel H. Brush, commanding the Department of the Columbia, United States Army, dated at Vancouver Barracks, Washington, November 25, 1908, includes the following: —

"The posts in the State, with number of officers and enlisted men October 31, 1908, were as follows: —

Fort Canby (work of construction going on)	.	2 enlisted men.
Fort Casey	10 officers	428 men.
Fort Columbia . . .	4 officers	100 men.
Fort Flagler . . .	8 officers	312 men.
Fort Lawton . . .	22 officers	333 men.
Vancouver Barracks .	78 officers	1263 men.
Fort Walla Walla . .	31 officers	327 men.
Fort Ward	4 officers	115 men.
Fort Worden . . .	16 officers	528 men.
Fort George Wright .	35 officers	561 men."

This shows totals of 208 officers and 3969 enlisted men.

[2] Interview with Captain Orton, Paymaster, United States Army, Seattle, November 28, 1908.

charge of a major in the United States army, who is assisted by three clerks and one messenger. The pay-roll of these amounts to a little over $4600 a year. The amount expended by the Seattle office for commissary supplies amounts to about $250,000 a year.[1] Part of these supplies go to posts in Alaska. The commissary office at Portland would naturally expend as much or more in the State of Washington. An estimate of $500,000 a year for this branch of government expenditure in the State is undoubtedly below the real amount. It is thus seen that for the two items of pay and commissary supplies the government expends in this State an aggregate of at least $1,900,000 a year.

The local office of the quartermaster of the United States army employs a force of thirty clerks, and when the large transports arrive or prepare for departure, forces of stevedores and longshoremen are employed as needed. The expenditures of this office amount to about $140,000 a month or $1,680,000 a year.[2]

The Chief of Ordnance reports that the cost of the armament for coast defense in the State of Washington has been approximately $2,320,000. That item was, of course, included in the above estimates by the various Coast Defense Boards. The cost of maintenance of the regular organization of the army in this State in ordnance property is approximately $6000 a year.[3]

Enormous amounts of work are now done by the government in this State under the supervision of the Corps of Engineers, United States army, in the improvement of rivers and harbors. Congress on June 3, 1896, asked for and received from the Secretary of War a complete tabulation of all river and harbor work done by the government up to that date. On June 13, 1902, a new and

[1] Interview with Major Hugh Gallagher, Commissary United States Army, Seattle, November 28, 1908.

[2] Interview with Major W. S. Wood, Quartermaster United States Army, Seattle, November 24, 1908.

[3] Letter from Brigadier-general William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, dated November 11, 1908.

complete tabulation was ordered, and when received it was published.[1] This record brought the compilation down to June 30, 1902. It shows that the government had expended on rivers and harbors to that date the large sum of $431,101,750.20. The tables include sixteen projects within the State of Washington as follows: Chehalis River, Cowlitz River, Everett Harbor, and Snohomish River, Grays Harbor and bar entrance, Grays Harbor and Chehalis River, Lewis River, Nasel River, New Whatcom Harbor, Okanogan River, Olympia Harbor, Pend Oreille River, Puget Sound and Lake Washington Canal, Puget Sound and tributary waters, Swinomish Slough, Tacoma Harbor, Willapa River and Harbor. The total appropriations for these projects amounted to $2,647,350. Nearly nine millions had been appropriated for the Columbia River in which Oregon and Washington were jointly interested. This was also true of appropriations for the Snake River. The total of these appropriations was $9,079,574.59. Taking one half as Washington's share, and adding it to the appropriations for the waterways of this State, we have an aggregate of $7,187,137.25 to June 30, 1902. During the five years following the date of that compilation the appropriations for waterways in Washington amounted to $1,225,500.[2] During the same time appropriations for the Columbia and Snake rivers reached the sum of $4,382,244.[3] Again taking half of this sum as Washington's share and adding it to the other sum, we have $3,416,622 expended on our rivers and harbors during those five years. Adding this to the other total, we have $10,603,759.25 given for these purposes from the beginning to June 30, 1907. It is not known how many hundreds or thousands of persons took part in all these undertakings, nor can it be computed how much wealth has been conferred upon the people of the State by reason of the improvements made to their facilities for handling the commerce of the various regions affected.

[1] House of Representatives, Document No. 421, 2d Session, 57th Congress.

[2] Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1907, Appendix YY.

[3] *Ibid.*, Appendices WW and XX.

The Signal Corps of the United States army contributes an interesting element of Federal activity on account of the Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System having its headquarters in Seattle. This system consists of 2524 miles of submarine cable, 1403 miles of land lines, and 107 miles of wireless. During the year ending June 30, 1907, there were handled 260,000 commercial and 50,000 official messages.[1] In 1907, the cable ship *Burnside* installed fire-control cables between the coast defense forts near Port Townsend. The expenditures for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, included $209,000 for the "Washington-Alaska military cable and telegraph system," and $15,000 for "replacing signal stores destroyed at Seattle."[2] The branch of the Signal Corps in the State of Washington employs three permanent and one temporary officers and fifty-two permanent and three temporary enlisted men. The salary roll for these amounts to at least $18,250 a year. This is but a small part of the money side of this office, as large sums are handled in the course of the telegraph business and considerable amounts are expended for supplies. These items are not available for use here.[3]

There are three recruiting stations in the State of Washington, located at Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane. The annual expense is about $17,500. This includes the pay of officers and enlisted men, the expense of offices, quarters, subsistence, and clothing.[4]

Plans have been suggested from time to time for the organization of a naval militia in this State. When that is done, the government will extend substantial aid. As previously stated, the militia for land service was well organized in Territorial days. This branch of service is now well equipped and maintained. It "receives its entire

[1] Annual Report of the Chief Signal Officer, 1907, pp. 5–7.
[2] Secretary of the Treasury, Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, 1907, p. 47.
[3] Interview with Colonel Richard E. Thompson, Seattle, November 28, 1908.
[4] Letter from Major F. A. Boutelle, United States Army (Retired) Recruiting Officer, dated at Seattle, November 17, 1908.

equipment of guns, ammunition, uniforms, and camp equipment from the Federal government; it also receives a certain amount for the promotion of rifle practice and camp expenses, in all amounting to $28,000." [1]

The United States navy was often represented by one or more small vessels visiting or stationed in the waters of this State. Before it was known whether the land belonged to the United States or Great Britain the fleet of the United States Exploring Expedition visited Puget Sound in 1841. About fifteen years ago it was the custom for a squadron to rendezvous at Port Angeles for target practice. In May, 1908, a fleet of cruisers and the large fleet of battleships from the Atlantic visited the harbors of Puget Sound. But the most constant and effective activity of this department of the government within the State of Washington is the establishment officially known as Navy Yard, Puget Sound. The location of this institution was made in 1888, though the exact site was selected by Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff, United States Navy (Retired), in 1891.[2] At the end of five years the establishment had not begun to earn money, but the value of all plants and additions and the cost of maintenance had reached the total of $712,110.53. The first earnings recorded are for the fiscal year of 1897, a total of only $2402.55. The figures increased rapidly during the ten years following. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, the expenditures of all kinds for improvements and additions to the plants amounted to $305,288.89, and the cost of maintenance, repairs, pay of officers, clerks, and help amounted to $379,828.80. At that time the total value of the land and establishment, including cost of maintenance, was $4,328,597.98. The amount of work done for the navy by the establishment up to 1907 amounted to a total of $2,381,201.77.[3] These earnings will increase as

[1] Letter from Frank M. Dallam, Jr., secretary to the governor, dated at Olympia, November 20, 1908.

[2] Orders and letters in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, July, 1908, pp. 356–359. Lieutenant Wyckoff is now in charge of the Hydrographic Office, an important though not extensive work in this State under the Navy Department.

[3] Report of the Secretary of the Navy, Miscellaneous, 1907, pp. 45–46.

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LAUNCHING THE UNITED STATES BATTLESHIP *Nebraska* AT SEATTLE

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the capacity of the establishment is improved by the completion of an additional dry dock. In his report for 1907 the Secretary of the Navy says: the Navy Yard, Puget Sound, "is ideally located, having a depth of water in front of the yard and the approaches thereto sufficient to float the navies of the world. The government has undoubtedly received full value for every dollar expended on this yard."

The people of the State are particularly interested in four ships of the Navy. They have shown their interest in the famous cruiser *Olympia* by giving a silver service valued at $8750. The people of the State joined with those in the city of Olympia in providing that handsome gift. The people of the city of Tacoma gave a similar present valued at $3465 to the cruiser bearing the name of *Tacoma*, and the cruiser *Washington* received, through legislative appropriation, a silver service valued at $5500.[1] The fourth ship is the large battleship *Nebraska*, which was built by the Moran Brothers Company at Seattle. This ship has a normal displacement of 14,948 tons, a speed exceeding the required nineteen knots, and cost $4,500,000. She was accepted by the government on May 31, 1907, and in 1908 won and held the record in the United States navy for accuracy in gun practice. The cruiser *Olympia* was Admiral Dewey's flagship in the battle of Manila Bay. A great distinction was conferred on the cruiser *Tacoma* when she was selected to bring from France to America the remains of John Paul Jones.

The Bureau of Pensions is a branch of the Department of the Interior. There are only two employees of this Bureau in the State of Washington. They are special examiners, and receive $1300 each as yearly salary.[2] There are in this State a total of 10,761 pensioners who receive each year an aggregate of $1,651,313.86.[3]

[1] Laws of Washington, 1907, pp. 424–425.
[2] Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated November 4, 1908.
[3] Letter from V. Warner, Commissioner of Pensions, dated at Washington, November 21, 1908.

The Washington Soldiers' Home at Orting has 19 veterans of the Indian wars of 1855–1857, 543 veterans of the war between the States and the Spanish-American War, and 52 in the Soldiers' Home Colony at Orting.[1] The Federal government pays, toward the cost of maintenance, $100 a year for each inmate of this home, which, excluding those in the colony and the Indian war veterans, would amount to $54,300 a year.[2]

The Treasury Department employs two persons in its Public Building Service within this State at an annual outlay of $4595. The total expenditures made or authorized for public buildings is $2,765,592.26.[3]

The United States Assay Office at Seattle was opened for business on July 15, 1898. During the first ten years the office purchased for the government a total of

[1] Laws of Washington, 1907, p. 493. In 1907, the State gave $124,700 for maintenance.

[2] Letter from George W. Tibbetts, Superintendent of the Washington Soldiers' Home, dated at Orting, November 25, 1908.

[3] Annual Report of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, pp. 33, 102, 213, 217, 264, 277, 289, and 385. The Federal buildings erected, in course of construction, or authorized by acts of Congress in this State, are as follows: in Bellingham, Whatcom County, the allowance for a site was $20,000 and for a post-office building $120,000; in Everett, Snohomish County, the cost of the site and building of the post-office and custom-house is to be $130,000; in North Yakima, Yakima County, the erection of a post-office is authorized, the cost of which is limited to $15,000 for a site and $120,000 for the building; in Olympia, Thurston County, Congress has authorized the purchase of a site for a post-office, the cost not to exceed $20,000, no building being authorized as yet; in Port Townsend, Jefferson County, the custom-house and post-office building has cost to June 30, 1908, $249,452.16, the site, $9,177.19; at the same place, the marine hospital has cost $44,858.23 for the building and $18,000 for the site, and the quarantine station has cost $94,104.68 and the site, $3500; in Seattle, King County, the court-house, custom-house, and post-office building is authorized at a total cost of $900,000, of which $175,390.77 was expended for the site; at the same place, an expenditure of $250,000 was authorized for government buildings in connection with the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition; in Tacoma, Pierce County, the post-office, court-house, and custom-house building is to cost a total of $600,000, of which $96,035.47 was expended for the site, and the balance is being used for the building; in Walla Walla, Walla Walla County, the purchase of a site and the erection of a post-office and court-house building have been authorized at the cost of $140,000.

$174,019,302.10 worth of bullion. This office furnishes employment for thirty persons.[1]

The business interests of the State are greatly facilitated by the use of large sums of government moneys kept on deposit in the banks. The balance of these deposits, subject to some variations in the course of the government's transactions, aggregates more than $3,000,000 each year.[2]

In every tenth year the government employs many persons and expends large sums in each State while taking the census. At present there is established in the Department of Commerce and Labor the Bureau of the Census, which employs six hundred and twenty persons, at an annual

[1] Letters from the Treasury Department, dated October 24, 1908, and from C. E. Vilas, assayer in charge of the Seattle office, dated November 16, 1908. The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill, approved May 22, 1908, shows (p. 32) an item for this office of $49,250 to pay salaries, wages of workmen, and expenses, including the rent of the building, for the year ending June 30, 1909.

[2] Senate Document No. 208, 1st Session, 60th Congress, is a response of the Secretary of the Treasury to a Senate resolution of December 12, 1907, calling for information about United States depositaries and other operations of the Treasury Department. On pages 69–70 are found the following banks and deposits in the State of Washington (those marked with an asterisk being temporary depositaries): *First National Bank, Bellingham, $50,000; *First National Bank, Everett, $50,000; *American National Bank, Everett, $50,000; First National Bank, North Yakima, $100,144.18; *Yakima National Bank, North Yakima, $50,000; *Capital National Bank, Olympia, $50,000; National Bank of Commerce, Seattle, $601,487.91; Seattle National Bank, Seattle, $850,000; Exchange National Bank, Spokane, $231,215.58; Old National Bank, Spokane, $135,900.42; *Traders' National Bank, Spokane, $55,000; National Bank of Commerce, Tacoma, $300,000; Pacific National Bank, Tacoma, $500,000; Vancouver National Bank, Vancouver, $69,249.74; First National Bank, Walla Walla, $50,000. Total, $3,142,997.83. The report calls attention to the fact that this total is 29.4 per centum of the banking capital and surplus in the State, which was $10,685,950 on December 3, 1907. Such percentage of deposits was 22.2 in California and 34.4 in Oregon on the same date. L. A. Coolidge, assistant secretary of the Treasury Department, in a letter dated November 24, 1908, transmitting the report to R. R. Spencer, vice-president of the National Bank of Commerce, Seattle, states that since the report was compiled two more depositaries have been named in this State: Bellingham National Bank, Bellingham, and First National Bank, Port Townsend, each of which has $50,000 of government deposits.

expenditure of $694,280 for salaries.[1] There is no way of learning the exact amount of the aggregate expenditure that should be charged to this State, since the agents of the Bureau travel from one State to another, and their time and expenses are not segregated by States.

The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization has to do with the administration of the laws relating to immigration, the Chinese exclusion laws, and the laws of naturalization of foreign-born citizens. There is a moderate staff of clerks and assistants, none of whom were appointed from the State of Washington. But the service at large has officers and employees stationed at eighteen cities in the State — Aberdeen, Anacortes, Bellingham, Blaine, Custer, Everett, Ferndale, Lynden, Marcus, Northport, Oroville, Point Roberts, Port Townsend, Seattle, Spokane, Sumas, Tacoma, and Walla Walla.[2]

The United States Civil Service Commission conducts examinations in the State of Washington, but the law does contemplate the segregation of data as to States.[3] The number of people employed and the money expended cannot be learned, but the results of the examinations are published each year.[4]

The State of Washington is entitled to two United States senators and three members of the House of Representa-

[1] In the list there are but three appointed from the State of Washington — two clerks at $1200 a year each and one clerk at $1000 a year.

[2] There are 93 persons thus employed. Of these 68 are paid regular yearly salaries from $300 to $2750, amounting to a total of $79,290; 24 receive per diem wages ranging from $2.50 to $6, and counting 300 working days to the year, their compensation would amount to $26,850. The total is thus seen to be $106,140 without counting expenses of any kind.

[3] Letter from President John C. Black, dated October 22, 1908.

[4] Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission for the year ended June 30, 1907, shows that during that year in the State of Washington 273 persons took the examinations for departmental and government printing service. Of these 159 passed. Eleven took the examinations for the Philippine Service, of whom six passed. Two hundred and eleven took the examinations for entrance to the Custom-house Service, and 175 of them passed. Two hundred and thirty-three tried, and 168 succeeded in the examinations for positions in the Post-office Service.

tives. Since March 4, 1907, each of these receives an annual salary of $7500. The clerk of the committee of which a senator is chairman acts as the senator's private secretary. The salary of the secretary varies according to the importance of the committee. In the House, each member is paid $1500 to be disbursed as he chooses for secretarial help. Counting mileage, clerk hire, and other items, it is probable that $50,000 a year is chargeable to the State of Washington for this branch of the government service.

Each senator and each representative in Congress is entitled under the law to appoint a cadet to the United States Military Academy at West Point. Each cadet is paid $600 a year and "one ration per day, or commutation therefor at thirty cents per day. The total is $709.50, to commence with his admission to the Academy." [1] The full complement of five cadets would draw from the National treasury at least $3547.50 a year for the pay and expense of these young citizens of the State. The cost of their education while at the academy is not here included. The first cadet in the Military Academy from the Pacific coast was appointed from Washington Territory. He was recently retired while holding one of the most important positions in the United States army, that of chief of engineers. Not long since this officer — Brigadier-general John M. Wilson — was caught in a reminiscent mood and talked of his appointment as a cadet. He told of his trip to California from his native Washington City and continued: "After I had been in California awhile I went up to Washington Territory, and obtained employment at Olympia, the capital. I got well acquainted with Governor Isaac I. Stevens, who had graduated from West Point in 1839. . . . While I was in Olympia, Mr. Columbia Lancaster, delegate in Congress from Washington Territory [1854], notified the public that he was authorized to appoint a cadet to the Military Academy. I had known him in Washington and had strong hopes from what he told me there that if I became a resident of his Territory,

[1] Official Register of the Officers and Cadets of the United States Military Academy, June, 1908, p. 56.

made friends with the people and got some good backing, he would appoint me. I was always ambitious to be a soldier, and that was the motive that led me to go out to the Pacific coast with Senator Gwin [of California]. Governor Stevens and a number of prominent citizens recommended me, and Columbia Lancaster appointed me to the Military Academy as the first cadet from the Pacific coast."[1]

Students in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis are styled midshipmen. Each senator and representative is entitled to appoint two midshipmen to the academy. On admission to the academy each midshipman must deposit the sum of $264.98 to pay for the necessary textbooks and clothing; after that he must keep up his supply of books and clothing from his salary as a midshipman, which is $500 a year. The total annual salary to this State's full allowance of ten midshipmen would be $5000.[2]

Many thousands of books and pamphlets are sent each year into the State of Washington at the expense of the government. Besides the books sent to individuals by order of the senators and representatives, regular contributions of the public documents are made to certain libraries designated as government depositaries. There are six of these in this State as follows: Washington State Library, Olympia; University of Washington Library, Seattle; the State College of Washington Library, Pullman; Whitman College Library, Walla Walla; Public Library, Tacoma; Public Library, Seattle. "The statistics of this report," says the superintendent of documents, "show that 503,564 books were sent to depositaries during the year, over 1000 books and pamphlets to each library, and it is estimated that it requires nearly 50 feet of shelf room to accommodate them."[3] Most of the volumes are bound in full sheep, all are well printed, and many are expensively illustrated. An effort to secure an idea of the

[1] "The Washington Star," reprinted in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 3, 1907.

[2] Regulations governing the Admission of Candidates into the United States Naval Academy, 1906, pp. 15–16.

[3] Thirteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Documents, 1907, p. 43.

expense to the government for Washington's share of these books and pamphlets brought the following from the superintendent of documents: "I regret that it is impossible for me to state even approximately the value of these books or to give any information at all regarding the documents sent out annually by members of Congress." [1]

No satisfactory résumé can here be made. One attempt at totals for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1908, gives 18,405 persons engaged and $11,390,283.18 expended. This is wholly inadequate as to persons because it does not include all those paid by fees, the two or three hundred engaged each season in the Forest Service, the many who work on public buildings, the improving of rivers and harbors and on other undertakings where the lists are not available. Nor is the estimate at all adequate as to the amount expended. The total given does not include the expenditures for public buildings, though it was shown above that nearly $3,000,000 have been expended on such buildings since statehood; the cost of the Geological and the Coast and Geodetic surveys are excluded, as are the items of receipts and expenditures of the government telegraph business and the sustenance of such services as the lighthouse and life-saving stations.

The best that can be done at present is to draw a few comparisons. The State of Washington reached the high tide of its appropriations in 1907, when the aggregate was $6,814,916.94. This included $1,000,000 for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. Taking the total as a basis, it gives $3,407,458.47 for each of the years 1907 and 1908 in the legislative biennium. That annual aggregate was nearly equaled by the $3,327,049.38 expended during one year by the Federal government on the three items of the Post-office, Reclamation, and Indian services. It was greatly exceeded by the total expenditures of the War Department within this State; in fact the totals of the Quartermaster, Paymaster, and Commissary departments exceed $3,580,000 a year. The annual expenditures by

[1] Letter from William L. Post, Superintendent of Documents, dated November 6, 1908.

the post-office and for pensions amount to $3,951,467.89, a half million more than the greatest annual expenditure by the State.

Public expenditures of all kinds have increased enormously in the last half century, but they have not kept pace with the increase of national wealth. In 1850, the total national wealth was $7,135,780,228. In that year the total expenditures of the national government from general taxation revenues amounted to $46,448,368, or at the rate of $6.50 per $1000 of national wealth. In 1907, the national wealth had increased to $113,749,270,337, and the expenditures from the taxation revenues were $762,488,752, or at the rate of $6.70 per $1000 of national wealth. The government also expends other funds from revenues received, in fees such as those in the Patent Office, the General Land Office, and, in part, in the Post-office. In 1850, the per capita of national wealth was $308. By 1904, it had increased fourfold to $1234. With all this per capita increase of wealth, the per capita expenditure had increased in the fifty-seven years to 1907 only 3.35 times what it was in 1850.

The expenditures by States, Territories, counties, cities, and other minor civil divisions, including schools, were compiled by the Twelfth Census for the year 1902, and show a grand total of $1,156,447,085,[1] being at the rate of $12.80 per $1000 of national wealth. In commenting upon this condition the director of the census says: "State and local

[1] Special Reports of the Census Office: Wealth, Debt, and Taxation (Washington, Government Printing-office, 1907), pp. 976–979. The State of Washington and its minor civil divisions are here distributed as follows: general government, $1,530,332; courts, $466,083; military and police, $232,032; fire department, $287,335; miscellaneous protection of life and property, $12,161; health conservation, $89,481; sewers, drainage, and other sanitation, $45,218; street lighting, $76,960; other highway expenditures, $1,648,705; charities, $284,909; insane, $217,185; penal institutions, $233,215; education, $3,702,504; parks and recreation, $67,661; agriculture, $14,158; interest, $1,362,729; industries, $281,418; outlays, $2,608,883; all other, $191,597. To meet these expenditures, there were general revenue receipts of $10,286,036 and commercial revenue receipts of $2,603,098, a total of $12,889,134, leaving a deficit to carry over of $463,432.



UNITED STATES CRUISER *Olympia*
Admiral Dewey's Flagship at Manila



UNITED STATES CRUISER *Washington* ON A VISIT TO PUGET SOUND
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taxation is increasing proportionately with national wealth and the ability of the people to meet the added costs of local government, while national expenditures — though growing rapidly — do not keep pace with the increasing national wealth; and so the burden of national government becomes smaller and smaller with the passing of the decades — at least, that has been the general trend of affairs since the middle of the nineteenth century, in spite of the cost of the Civil War with its legacy of heavy interest and pension charges." [1]

In the light of the conditions thus prevailing in the nation as a whole and of the above facts showing so large a measure of Federal activity in the State of Washington, it is fair to conclude that this State is receiving its full share of the favors bestowed by a generous and far-seeing national government. The citizens now rejoice over every manifestation of Federal activity. More than a justification may be seen in the multiplication of prosperous homes, the conservation of some resources, and the exploitation of others, the improving and safeguarding of facilities and opportunities for commerce, the sustaining of education with munificent and permanent aid, the encouragement of the individual citizen to do and be his best.

[1] Director of the Census, Expenditures of the United States Government, 1791–1907, Senate Document No. 528, 1st Session, 60th Congress, p. 42.



APPENDIX I

COUNTIES OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

No.	Name of County	Origin of Name	Date of Organization	County Seat
1	Adams	In honor of President John Adams	November 28, 1883	Ritzville
2	Asotin	Indian word meaning "eel creek," from the abundance of eels there	October 27, 1883	Asotin City
3	Benton	In honor of Thomas H. Benton, United States senator from Missouri	March 8, 1905	Prosser
4	Chehalis	Indian word meaning "sand"	April 14, 1854	Montesano
5	Chelan	Indian word meaning "deep water"	March 13, 1899	Wenatchee
6	Clallam	Indian word meaning "strong people"	April 26, 1854	Port Angeles
7	Clarke	In honor of Captain William Clark	June 27, 1844	Vancouver
8	Columbia	For the great "River of the West"	November 11, 1875	Dayton
9	Cowlitz	Name of an Indian tribe	April 21, 1854	Kalama
10	Douglas	In honor of Stephen A. Douglas	November 28, 1883	Waterville
11	Ferry	In honor of Elisha P. Ferry, first governor of the State of Washington	February 21, 1899	Republic

COUNTIES OF WASHINGTON — *Continued*

No.	Name of County	Origin of Name	Date of Organization	County Seat
12	Franklin	In honor of Benjamin Franklin	November 28, 1883	Pasco
13	Garfield	In honor of President James A. Garfield	November 29, 1881	Pomeroy
14	Island	County composed of islands	January 6, 1853	Coupeville
15	Jefferson	In honor of President Thomas Jefferson	December 22, 1852	Port Townsend
16	King	In honor of Vice-president William R. King	December 22, 1852	Seattle
17	Kitsap	Indian chief's name, said to mean "brave"	January 16, 1857	Port Orchard
18	Kittitas	Indian word meaning "gray gravel bank"	November 24, 1883	Ellensburg
19	Klickitat	Indian word said to mean "robber"	December 20, 1859	Goldendale
20	Lewis	In honor of Captain Meriwether Lewis	December 21, 1845	Chehalis
21	Lincoln	In honor of Abraham Lincoln	November 24, 1883	Davenport
22	Mason	In honor of Charles H. Mason, first secretary of Washington Territory	March 13, 1854	Shelton
23	Okanogan	Indian word meaning "rendezvous"	February 2, 1888	Conconully
24	Pacific	For its ocean boundary	February 4, 1851	South Bend
25	Pierce	In honor of President Franklin Pierce	December 22, 1852	Tacoma

COUNTIES OF WASHINGTON — *Continued*

No.	Name of County	Origin of Name	Date of Organization	County Seat
26	San Juan	From its principal island	October 31, 1873	Friday Harbor
27	Skagit	Name of an Indian tribe	November 28, 1883	Mt. Vernon
28	Skamania	Indian word meaning "swift waters"	March 9, 1854	Stevenson
29	Snohomish	Indian word meaning a style of union in the tribe of that name	January 14, 1861	Everett
30	Spokane	Indian word meaning "child of the sun"	January 29, 1858	Spokane
31	Stevens	In honor of Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of Washington Territory	January 20, 1863	Colville
32	Thurston	In honor of Samuel R. Thurston, first delegate from Oregon Territory	January 12, 1852	Olympia
33	Wahkiakum	Said to be the name of the first chief of an Indian tribe of that name	April 25, 1854	Cathlamet
34	Walla Walla	Indian word meaning "running water"	April 25, 1854	Walla Walla
35	Whatcom	Indian word said to mean "noisy water"	March 9, 1854	Bellingham
36	Whitman	In honor of Doctor Marcus Whitman	November 29, 1871	Colfax
37	Yakima	Indian word, name of a tribe said to mean "black bear"	January 21, 1865	North Yakima



Lewis and Clark were the first ones honored in the naming of counties. Clark has priority as to date, but that county was first created by the provisional government of Oregon as "Vancouver District." The name was not changed to Clarke County until after Lewis County was created.

In the first laws referring to Clallam County the name is always given as "Clalm." Klickitat was at first "Clickitat," and Wahkiakum was "Wakiacum."

The pioneers were impartial with their honors. On the same day, November 28, 1883, they named one county for Lincoln and another for his famous rival, Douglas.

Just as Representative Stanton of Kentucky changed the name of the Territory of Columbia to Washington, so Representative C. S. Gleason, without knowing of the other incident, succeeded in changing the name of the proposed Eureka County to Ferry in honor of the first governor of the State.

The law creating Garfield County specifically says that it is so named "in honor of James A. Garfield, late President of the United States."

Just before Washington Territory was created, the Oregon Territorial Legislature, knowing that Pierce and King had been elected President and Vice-president, gave their names to new counties in northern Oregon. While the Electoral College was canvassing the returns in Washington, a report was received that William R. King had died in Cuba. It would not do to declare a dead man elected Vice-president. During a recess it was agreed to substitute the elector from Wisconsin, but the next day it was reported that Mr. King was still alive, and he was at once declared elected. He did not live, however, to fill the office. That Wisconsin elector died only a few years ago after a long career as a pioneer journalist of Seattle. His name was Beriah Brown.

Mason County was first given the Indian name Sawamish, but was rechristened in order to confer a richly merited honor upon the memory of the first secretary of the Territory, Charles H. Mason.

Kitsap was first named in honor of the gallant soldier,

Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter, who gave his life in defense of the white men's homes. The citizens were given the privilege of choosing another name if they found fault with the objectionable sound of Slaughter. There were two chiefs named Kitsap — one old man who was friendly, another who wielded the scalping knife. It is supposed, of course, that the friendly chief was honored.

Frederick V. Holman of Portland has recently published a biography of Doctor John McLoughlin, in which he says that Samuel R. Thurston was a bitter and unfair enemy of the good doctor, and that Washington ought to change the name of Thurston to McLoughlin County.

Two counties have been organized and afterwards abandoned. They bore the names of Quillayute and Ferguson.

It would be difficult to match the varied experiences of Spokane County. It has had three legal creations besides sustaining many changes of boundaries. It was first created with ample bounds on January 29, 1858. The next year, on the admission of Oregon to statehood, Spokane County was expanded to include all of Idaho and portions of western Wyoming and Montana. In 1860, came the second legal creation, when the bounds included the Columbia River and the Rocky Mountains, the forty-sixth and the forty-ninth parallels of latitude. Governor Stevens was killed at the battle of Chantilly on September 1, 1862. On January 20, 1863, his memory was honored by the naming of a new county. That same year Idaho Territory was created, which cut Stevens County to such small dimensions that the Legislature on January 19, 1864, wiped out Spokane County by annexing it to Stevens County. On October 30, 1879, Spokane County received its third legal creation, since which time it has not suffered except by having its area cut down by the creation of Lincoln and Douglas counties.

The law creating San Juan County says it comprises the "De Haro Archipelago and hitherto known as the disputed islands."

APPENDIX II

TERRITORIAL OFFICERS

Governor	Politics	By whom appointed	Term
Isaac I. Stevens	Democrat	Pierce	1853 to 1857
J. Patton Anderson[1]	Democrat	Buchanan	1857
Fayette McMullin	Democrat	Buchanan	1857 to 1859
R. D. Gholson	Democrat	Buchanan	1859 to 1861
W. H. Wallace[1]	Republican	Lincoln	1861
William Pickering	Republican	Lincoln	1862 to 1866
George E. Cole	Democrat	Johnson	1866 to 1867
Marshall F. Moore	Republican	Johnson	1867 to 1869
Alvin Flanders	Republican	Grant	1869 to 1870
Edward S. Salomon	Republican	Grant	1870 to 1872
James F. Legate[1]	Republican	Grant	1872
Elisha P. Ferry	Republican	Grant	1872 to 1880
W. A. Newell	Republican	Hayes	1880 to 1884
Watson C. Squire	Republican	Arthur	1884 to 1887
Eugene Semple	Democrat	Cleveland	1887 to 1889
Miles C. Moore	Republican	Harrison	seven months

[1] Did not qualify.

Judge	Term	Judge	Term
Edward Lander, Chief Justice	1853 to 1858	James K. Kennedy	1870 to 1873
Victor Monroe	1853 to 1854	Orange Jacobs	1871 to 1879
William Strong	1853 to 1854	Roger S. Greene	1871 to 1879
O. B. McFadden	1854 to 1858	J. R. Lewis	1873 to 1875
O. B. McFadden, Chief Justice.	1858 to 1861	J. R. Lewis, C.J.	1875 to 1879
		S. C. Wingard	1875 to 1879
F. A. Chenowith	1854 to 1858	Roger S. Greene, C.J.	1879 to 1887
William Strong	1858 to 1861		
E. C. Fitzhugh	1858 to 1861	John P. Hoyt	1879 to 1887
C. C. Hewitt, C.J.	1861 to 1869	George Turner	1884 to 1887
J. E. Wyche	1861 to 1870	W. G. Langford	1887 to 1889
E. P. Oliphant	1861 to 1867	Richard A. Jones, C.J.	1887 to 1888
C. B. Darwin	1867 to 1868	Frank Allyn	1887 to 1889
B. F. Dennison	1868 to 1869	C. E. Boyle, C.J.	1888
B. F. Dennison, C.J.	1869 to 1870	Thomas Burke, C.J.	1888 to 1889
Orange Jacobs	1869 to 1871	Cornelius H. Hanford, C.J.	1889
William L. Hill, C.J.	1870 to 1871	W. H. Calkins	1889

TERRITORIAL OFFICERS — *Continued*

Delegate to Congress	Politics	Elected	Delegate to Congress	Politics	Elected
Columbia Lancaster	Democrat	1854	Sileucius Garfielde	Republican	1870
William H. Wallace	Whig	1854	O. B. McFadden	Democrat	1872
J. Patton Anderson	Democrat	1855	Orange Jacobs	Republican	1874
Isaac I. Stevens	Democrat	1857	Orange Jacobs	Republican	1876
Isaac I. Stevens	Democrat	1859	Thomas H. Brents	Republican	1878
William H. Wallace	Republican	1861	Thomas H. Brents	Republican	1880
George E. Cole	Democrat	1863	Thomas H. Brents	Republican	1882
Arthur A. Denny	Republican	1865	C. S. Voorhees	Democrat	1884
Alvin Flanders	Republican	1867	C. S. Voorhees	Democrat	1886
Sileucius Garfielde	Republican	1869	John B. Allen	Republican	1888

Surveyor General	Term	Surveyor General	Term
James Tilton	1853 to 1860	L. B. Beach	1873
A. G. Henry	1864 to 1866	William McMicken	1873 to 1886
Sileucius Garfielde	1866 to 1869	J. C. Breckenridge	1886 to 1889
Elisha P. Ferry	1870 to 1872	T. H. Cavanaugh	1889

District Attorney	Term	District Attorney	Term
J. S. Clendenin	1853 to 1856	Leander Holmes	1867 to 1873
H. R. Crosbie	1856 to 1857	S. C. Wingard	1873 to 1874
J. S. Smith	1857 to 1859	John B. Allen	1875 to 1886
B. P. Anderson	1859 to 1861	William H. White	1886 to 1889
J. J. McGilvra	1861 to 1867		

Marshal	Term	Marshal	Term
J. Patton Anderson	1853 to 1855	Philip Ritz	1869 to 1870
G. W. Corliss	1856 to 1858	E. S. Kearney	1870 to 1874
Charles E. Weed	1859 to 1862	Charles Hopkins	1875 to 1886
William Huntington	1863 to 1868	T. J. Hamilton	1886 to 1889

TERRITORIAL OFFICERS — *Continued*

Secretary	Term	Secretary	Term
Charles H. Mason	1853 to 1857	James Scott	1870 to 1872
H. M. McGill	1857 to 1860	J. C. Clements	1872 to 1873
L. J. S. Turney	1861 to 1862	Henry G. Struve	1873 to 1879
Elwood Evans	1862 to 1867	N. H. Owings	1879 to 1889
E. L. Smith	1867 to 1870	O. C. White	1889

Treasurer	Term	Treasurer	Term
William Cock	1854 to 1861	J. H. Munson	1872 to 1873
D. Phillips	1862 to 1863	E. T. Gunn	1873 to 1874
William Cock	1864 to 1865	Francis Tarbell	1875 to 1880
Benjamin Harned	1865 to 1866	Thomas N. Ford	1881 to 1886
James Tilton	1866 to 1867	William McMicken	1886 to 1888
Benjamin Harned	1867 to 1870	F. I. Blodgett	1888 to 1889
Hill Harmon	1871 to 1872		

Auditor	Term	Auditor	Term
Urban E. Hicks	1858 to 1859	J. G. Sparks	1871 to 1872
A. J. Moses	1859 to 1860	N. S. Porter	1872 to 1873
J. C. Head	1860 to 1862	John M. Murphy	1873 to 1874
R. M. Walker	1862 to 1864	John R. Wheat	1875 to 1876
Urban E. Hicks	1865 to 1867	Thomas M. Reed	1877 to 1888
John M. Murphy	1867 to 1870	John M. Murphy	1888 to 1889

APPENDIX III

STATE OFFICERS

United States Senator	Term	United States Senator	Term
John B. Allen	1889 to 1893	Addison G. Foster	1899 to 1905
Watson C. Squire	1889 to 1891	Levi Ankeny	1903 to 1909
Watson C. Squire	1891 to 1897	Samuel H. Piles	1905
John L. Wilson	1895 to 1899	Wesley L. Jones	1909
George Turner	1897 to 1903		

On the expiration of John B. Allen's term the Legislature experienced a deadlock, and the State went two years without its full representation in the Upper House of Congress. Mr. Jones won the election as the people's choice on the dominant Republican ticket under the direct primary election. In the list Mr. Turner, Fusionist, is the only one not of the Republican party.

Congressman	Term	Congressman	Term
John L. Wilson	1889 to 1895	F. W. Cushman	1899 to
W. H. Doolittle	1893 to 1897	Wesley L. Jones	1899 to 1909
S. C. Hyde	1895 to 1897	W. E. Humphrey	1901 to
W. C. Jones	1897 to 1899	Miles Poindexter	1909 to
James Hamilton Lewis	1897 to 1899		

Mr. W. C. Jones and Mr. Lewis were Fusionists. The rest are Republicans. Mr. Wilson was elected for three terms. Mr. Cushman has been elected for the sixth term. After five elections, Mr. W. L. Jones withdrew to enter the race for the Senate. Mr. Humphrey has been elected for his fifth term.

Supreme Court Judge	Term	Supreme Court Judge	Term
Thomas J. Anders	1889 to 1893	Wallace Mount	1901 to 1907
Elmon Scott	1889 to 1893	William H. White	1901 to 1902
Theodore L. Stiles	1889 to 1895	Hiram E. Hadley	1901 to 1902
Ralph O. Dunbar	1889 to 1895	Hiram E. Hadley	1903 to 1909
John P. Hoyt	1889 to 1897	Frank H. Rudkin	1905 to 1911
Elmon Scott	1893 to 1899	Mark A. Fullerton	1905 to 1911
Thomas J. Anders	1893 to 1899	Herman D. Crow	1905 to 1907
Merritt J. Gordon	1895 to 1900	Milo A. Root	1905 to 1907
Ralph O. Dunbar	1895 to 1901	Herman D. Crow	1907 to 1909
James B. Reavis	1897 to 1903	Milo A. Root	1907 to 1909
Mark A. Fullerton	1899 to 1905	Ralph O. Dunbar	1907 to 1913
Thomas J. Anders	1899 to 1905	Wallace Mount	1907 to 1913
William H. White	1900 to 1901	Herman D. Crow	1909 to 1915
William H. White	1901 to 1901	Milo A. Root	1909 to 1915
Ralph O. Dunbar	1901 to 1907	Stephen J. Chadwick	1909 to 1915

The constitution fixed the terms of supreme court judges at six years, and provided that the first judges should determine by lot, two to serve for three years, two for five years, and one for seven years. This was to prevent a too sweeping change of the court at any one time. The judge with the shortest term to serve is elected by the court as chief justice, which allows most of the judges to enjoy that honor in turn. Judge Dunbar is the only one who has served continuously through the life of this court.

There are a few irregularities in the length of the terms. Judge Gordon resigned in June, 1900. Governor Rogers appointed William H. White to take his place. In November of the same year Judge White was regularly elected, but the term ended the following January. The Legislature in 1901 provided for the appointment of two judges to serve only until October, 1902. Governor Rogers appointed to these positions William H. White and Hiram E. Hadley. In 1905, the Legislature permanently increased the court from five to seven. Governor Mead appointed Herman D. Crow and Milo A. Root. At the next election, in 1906, those two judges were regularly elected for the terms expiring in 1909. After his election in November,

1908, Judge Root resigned. His place will be filled by appointment.

All the judges have been Republican in politics except Judge Reavis, who was elected as a Democrat; Judge White, who was twice appointed and once elected as a Democrat, but who has since become a Republican; and Stephen J. Chadwick, judge-elect, who has been chosen as a Democrat on the non-partisan judiciary ticket under the direct primary law.

Governor	Term	Governor	Term
Elisha P. Ferry	1889 to 1893	Henry McBride	1901 to 1905
John H. McGraw	1893 to 1897	Albert E. Mead	1905 to 1909
John R. Rogers	1897 to 1901	Samuel G. Cosgrove	1909
John R. Rogers	1901		

John R. Rogers was a Fusionist. His administration was the only one not of the Republican party in the history of the State. He was the only governor who died in office. Lieutenant-governor McBride, a Republican, succeeded to the office, making the administration for the term 1901 to 1905 entirely Republican.

Lieutenant Governor	Term	Lieutenant Governor	Term
Charles E. Laughton	1889 to 1893	Henry McBride	1901
F. H. Luce	1893 to 1897	Charles E. Coon	1905 to 1909
Thurston Daniels	1897 to 1901	M. E. Hay	1909

Secretary of State	Term	Secretary of State	Term
Allen Weir	1889 to 1893	Sam H. Nichols	1901 to 1905
James H. Price	1893 to 1897	Sam H. Nichols	1905 to 1909
Will D. Jenkins	1897 to 1901	Sam H. Nichols	1909

Treasurer	Term	Treasurer	Term
O. A. Bowen	1889 to 1893	C. W. Maynard	1901 to 1905
A. A. Lindsley	1893 to 1897	George G. Mills	1905 to 1909
C. W. Young	1897 to 1901	John G. Lewis	1909

Auditor of State	Term	Auditor of State	Term
Thomas M. Reed	1889 to 1893	John D. Atkinson	1901 to 1905
L. R. Grimes	1893 to 1897	C. W. Clausen	1905 to 1909
Neal Cheatham	1897 to 1901	C. W. Clausen	1909

Attorney General	Term	Attorney General	Term
W. C. Jones	1889 to 1893	W. B. Stratton	1901 to 1905
W. C. Jones	1893 to 1897	John D. Atkinson	1905 to 1909
Patrick Henry Winston	1897 to 1901	W. P. Bell	1909

Superintendent of Public Instruction	Term	Superintendent of Public Instruction	Term
R. B. Bryan	1889 to 1893	R. B. Bryan[1]	1905 to 1908
C. W. Bean	1893 to 1897	Henry B. Dewey	1908 to 1909
Frank J. Browne	1897 to 1901	Henry B. Dewey	1909
R. B. Bryan	1901 to 1905		

Mr. Bryan died in office, and was succeeded by his chief deputy, Henry B. Dewey, by appointment from the governor.

Commissioner of Public Lands	Term	Commissioner of Public Lands	Term
W. T. Forrest	1889 to 1893	S. A. Callvert	1901 to 1905
W. T. Forrest	1893 to 1897	E. W. Ross	1905 to 1909
Robert Bridges	1897 to 1901	E. W. Ross	1909

APPENDIX IV

STATE INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Date of Creation	City	Location County
Capital	Nov. 28, 1853	Olympia	Thurston
State Library	Feb. 28, 1854	Olympia	Thurston
University of Washington	Jan. 28, 1861	Seattle	King
The State College of Washington	March 9, 1891	Pullman	Whitman
State Normal School	March 22, 1890	Cheney	Spokane
State Normal School	March 28, 1890	Ellensburg	Kittitas
State Normal School	Feb. 24, 1893	Bellingham	Whatcom
State School for the Deaf and the Blind	Jan. 26, 1888	Vancouver	Clarke
The State Institution for the Feeble-minded	March 6, 1905	Medical Lake	Spokane
Western Washington Hospital for the Insane	Feb. 3, 1886	Steilacoom	Pierce
Eastern Washington Hospital for the Insane	Jan. 25, 1888	Medical Lake	Spokane
Washington Soldiers' Home	March 26, 1890	Orting	Pierce
Washington Veterans' Home	March 13, 1907	Port Orchard	Kitsap
Washington State Fair	March 13, 1893	North Yakima	Yakima
State Museum	March 6, 1899	Seattle	King
Fish Hatcheries Headquarters		Bellingham	Whatcom
State Penitentiary	Jan. 22, 1886	Walla Walla	Walla Walla
Washington State Reform School	March 28, 1890	Chehalis	Lewis
Washington State Reformatory	March 14, 1907	Monroe	Snohomish

The capital was located by Governor Stevens, who by his proclamation directed the first Legislature to assemble at Olympia, and then in his first gubernatorial message

he announced the beginning of the Territorial library, also at Olympia.

In 1855, the Legislature created two equal universities — one at Seattle and one at Boisfort Plains, in Lewis County. These were united in 1858 and located on Cowlits Farm Prairie in Lewis County. The third and successful location was made in Seattle in 1861, the Legislature requiring the gift of ten acres as a site, which was made by Arthur A. Denny, Charles C. Terry, and Edward Lander.

The Territory attempted to obtain the benefit of the Federal grants for Agricultural Colleges by passing a law on January 14, 1865, locating such a college in Clarke County. The government ruled that only States could get such aids. After statehood an unsuccessful attempt was made in 1890 to establish such a college. The third and successful attempt at organization was made in 1891. At first it was known as the Washington Agricultural College, Experiment Station, and School of Science. On March 2, 1905, the name was changed to the State College of Washington.

The State School for the Deaf and the Blind received that name on March 9, 1905. Previously it was known as the Washington School for Defective Youth, when it also conducted the work now given over to the State Institution for Feeble-minded.

On January 5, 1856, the Territory asked the United States for help to care for the insane who would occasionally be set on shore from visiting ships. On January 29, 1862, the contract system for caring for the insane was adopted. On December 2, 1869, the Territory bought from the United States the buildings at Fort Steilacoom for such uses, and in 1886 the Western Washington Hospital was permanently located there. On the same day, February 3, 1886, the Eastern Washington Hospital was provided for, but it was not permanently located until two years later.

The University Museum is the State museum, which will undoubtedly assume large proportions at the close of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

The office of the State fish commissioner is at Belling-

ham. His last report shows the following hatcheries: Columbia River District — Kalama, Chinook, Wind River, Little Spokane, Methow; Puget Sound District — Snohomish, Nooksack, Skokomish, Samish, White River, Nisqually, Dungeness, Sauk River, Aquarium; Willapa Harbor District — Willapa; Grays Harbor District — Chehalis.

Before the penitentiary was located at Walla Walla the prisoners were cared for by the contract system, the prison being located at Seatco, now called Bucoda. The last name was coined by taking the first two letters of the names of three men heavily interested in the town — Buckley, Coulter, and Davis.



INDEX

Abernethy, Alexander S., candidate for Congress, 211.
Abernethy, George, joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111; acts promptly at time of Whitman massacre, 121; becomes provisional governor of Oregon, 145.
Accolti, Father, joins Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1844, 130.
Accountants, examined and certified, 325.
Active, survey steamer, 203.
Adams, President John, county named for, 357.
Adams, John Quincy, negotiates Treaty of Ghent, 86; part in Joint Occupancy negotiations, 89–90; diary of, foreshadows Monroe Doctrine, 92; interviews Webster on the Oregon question, 126.
Adams County, facts about, 357.
Adams Fund, use of, in this State, 331.
Admiralty Inlet, named by Vancouver, 37.
Agate Passage, named by Wilkes, 74.
Agriculture, in State of Washington, 302–304; begun by Doctor McLoughlin, 302; statistics of, 304.
Alaska, discovered by Bering, 18; first moves toward its acquisition, 153; William H. Seward responsible for its purchase, 153; purchase of, completed, 153–154.
Alaska gold, effect of, on State of Washington, 293–295.
Alaskan Indians, trouble with, 169.
Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Washington the host for, 308.
Alden, Commander James, of the *Active*, 203.
Alexander, Czar, remarkable Ukase of 1821, 91.
Alhambra, fall of, in 1492, 7.
Alki Point, name of, 230.
Allen, George H., originator of Home Colony, 321–323.
Allen, John B., in Spokane county-seat fight, 238; last Delegate to Congress, 312; first Senator from State, 287.
Allis, M. S., deflected from the Oregon mission, 113.
Alvord, Major, avoids an Indian war in 1853, 176.
Amendments, to constitution, provision for, 286–287.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the work in Oregon, 113–127; decides to abandon two Whitman missions, 117; influenced to change by Whitman, 118.
Americans on San Juan, celebrate Fourth of July, 1859, 244; evidently smugglers of wool, 251–252.
Amorys of Boston, owners of ship *Boston*, 43.
Amundsen, Captain Roald, finds the Northwest Passage, 14–15.
Anacortes, stories about, in boom days and hard times, 295.
Anderson, J. Patton, United States Marshal, makes first census of Washington Territory, 159.
Anderson Island, named, 76.
Angeline, daughter of Chief Seattle, 190.
Angell, James B., on Authorship of Monroe Doctrine, 93.
Anian, Straits of, older name for the Northwest Passage, 15.
Anti-Chinese riots, 275–277.

Appletree Cove, named by Wilkes, 74.
Appropriations, constitutional provision for, 285–286.
Arbitration, suggested and declined on Oregon boundary, 134–135; final settlement of San Juan dispute, 252–254.
Arid lands, reclamation of, 330–331.
Army, United States, work of, in this State, 341–345.
Ashley, General W. H., success in mountain fur trade, 56–57.
Asotin City, seat of Asotin County, 357.
Asotin County, facts about, 357.
Assay Office, United States, work of, in this State, 348–349.
Astor, John Jacob, withdraws from the beaver trade because of the silk hat, 56; wealth in fur trade, 81; proposes partnership with Northwest Company, 82; organizes Pacific Fur Company, 82.
"Astoria," accuracy of, defended, 80.
Astoria, fort begun and named April 12, 1811, 83; sold to Northwest Company, 85; name changed to Fort George, 86; restored to Americans in Treaty of Ghent, 86.
Attoo, chieftain of Hawaii, 42.
Attorneys-general, State, list of, 368.
Auditors, Territorial, list of, 364.
Auditors of State, list of, 368.
Avery, J. C., escapes from Indians, 179.

Babcock, Doctor Ira L., joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111; becomes first provisional judge in Oregon, 139.
Bachelder, pioneer of Port Townsend, 227.
Bagley, Clarence B., "In the Beginning," 98; describes the "Catholic Ladder," 129.
Bailies, Representative, agitates for Oregon, 88.
Bainbridge Island, named by Wilkes, 74.
Baker, Doctor D. S., builds first Walla Walla railroad, 306.
Balboa, discovefy of the South Sea, 8.
Balch, Lafayette, member of first Council, 164; starts store at Steilacoom, 227.
Bancroft, George, his part in treaty of 1846, and San Juan case, 242–243; represents United States in arbitration of San Juan case, 252–254.
Bancroft, Hubert Howe, "History of the Northwest Coast," 22; praises Alexander Mackenzie, 47–48; calls obstinate legislators "dunces," 150; pronounces Judge Darwin dishonest, 251.
Baranof, Alexander Andreievich, manager of Russian-American fur monopoly, 19–20.
Barbers, examined and certified, 325.
Barclay, Captain, doleful experience near Quadra's Island of Sorrows, 25.
Barier, Eugene, escapes from Indians, 179.
Barlow, Doctor Samuel B., of Massachusetts, suggests in 1834 railroad from New York to mouth of Columbia, 307.
Barnes, Sheriff of Whatcom County, forcibly collects taxes on San Juan Island, 241.
Barrell, J., of the Boston Company, 40.
Bayard, J. A., negotiates Treaty of Ghent, 86.
Baynes, Rear-admiral Robert Lambert, of British Navy, averts conflict over San Juan, 248.
Beaver, its aid in developing Old Oregon, 55–56; market for, destroyed, 56.
Beaver Money, gold coined in Oregon, 147.
Beers, Alanson, with wife and three children, joins missionaries, 109.
Bell, William N., and family at founding of Seattle, 230.
Bellingham, State Normal School at, 317; facts about State Normal School at, 369; seat of Whatcom County, 359.
Bellingham Bay, named by Vancouver, 38; settlers on, 231.
Benton, Senator Thomas H., agitates

for Oregon, 88; county named for, 357.
Benton County, facts about, 357.
Bering, Vitus, discovers Bering Strait and Alaska, 18–19.
Bewley, Esther Larinda, survivor of the Whitman massacre, 120.
Bigelow, Daniel R., his oration at Olympia, July 4, 1852, 155–156; member of first Council, 164.
Biles, John D., member of first House, 164.
Bishop, William, in Spokane county-seat fight, 238.
Bishops of Juliopolis, asked for Catholic missionaries to Oregon, 128.
Bitter Root Valley, settlers in, ask for government, 235.
Blackfoot Indians, treaty with, provided for, 166; treaty made with, 172.
Blackgowns, early desire for them in Oregon, 106.
Blaine, James G., as Secretary of State issues proclamation of new State of Washington, 287.
Blakely Rock, named by Wilkes, 74.
Blanchet, Rev. A. M. A., becomes Bishop of Walla Walla, 130.
Blanchet, Francis Norbet, "Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon," 106; letter from Governor Simpson, 123; arrives in Oregon, 1838, 128; becomes a Bishop, 130; visits Europe and becomes Archbishop, 130; brings religious colony to Oregon, 130; chairman of the committee to frame constitution for provisional government of Oregon, 140.
Blind, State school for, 369, 370.
Blockhouses, number built during Indian war, 206.
Bloody Chief, tells of desire for priests, 106.
Blue Wing, schooner, captured by Haidahs, 205.
Bodega y Quadra, names the Island of Sorrows, 1775, 23; represents Spain at Nootka, 31–32.
Bodleian Library, Drake's Chair in, 13.
Boise, developed from trading post, 55.
Bolduc, Rev. J. B. Z., joins Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1842, 130
Bolon, Andrew J., member of first House, 164; as Indian Agent hears of probable outbreak, 177; murdered by Yakima Indians, 179–180.
Bolton, William, founder of Steilacoom, 227.
Bonded indebtedness, mad rush into, by State, counties, cities, towns, and school districts, 290.
Bonneville, Captain B. L. E., sketch of, 58; called "history-made man," 59; gets leave of absence from army, 59; experiences in far West, 59–62; reinstated in army, 61; commands at Fort Vancouver, 1852, 61.
Boom companies, law for, 292.
Boren, Carson D., and family at founding of Seattle, 230.
Boren, Louisa, at founding of Seattle, 230.
Borst, Joseph, early pioneer, 224–225.
Boston, reception given on the return of the *Columbia*, 1790, 41–42; scene reproduced a century later, 42.
Boston, ship, destroyed by Nootka Indians, 1803, 43.
"Boston-Man," means American in Chinook Jargon, 44.
Boston shipping men interested in Northwest fur trade, 40.
Bourne, Edward Gaylord, "Voyages of Columbus," 8; "Aspects of Oregon History before 1840," 88; "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," 123.
Bradford, D. F., member of first Council, 164.
Brannan, William H., he and family killed by Indians, 182.
Brents, Judge Thomas H., elected to Congress, 312.
Bricks, first kiln burned, 225.
British bravado, in San Juan case, 242.
British officers, attempt to enforce their authority on San Juan Island, 241.

British troops, landed on north end of San Juan Island, 250.
British vessels seized at Nootka, 29–30.
British warships, three of them at San Juan Island, 245–246.
Brooks, Richard E., statue of William H. Seward by, 319.
Brother Jonathan, wreck of, 260.
Broughton, Lieutenant W. R., with Vancouver, in 1792, 36.
Brown, Beriah, suggested for Vice-president, in 1853, 360.
Brown, B. W., killed at Cascades, 193.
Brown, Jared C., United States Marshal, reports clash of authority on San Juan Island, 251.
Brown, S., of the Boston company, 40.
Brown, William, discovers coal at Bellingham, 231.
Brownfield, Daniel F., elected to Oregon Legislature, 1851, 150; member of first Washington Legislature, 164.
Browning, D. M., tells of manuscript records of Indian talks on treaties, 168.
Buchanan, James, Secretary of State, on Oregon boundary, 133; his joke about proposed arbitration, 134-135.
Buchanan, President James, proclaims the belated Indian treaties, 217; seeks to avoid war over San Juan, 248.
Budd Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Buffalo herds, absence of, in Old Oregon, 55.
Building-stones, quarries of, 305.
Bulfinch, C., of the Boston company, 40.
Bureau of Animal Industry, work of, in this State, 333.
Bureau of Fisheries, work of, in this State, 333.
Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, work of, in this State, 350.
Bureau of Labor, to protect laborers, 314.
Bureau of the Census, work of, in this State, 349–350.
Burley, colony of Coöperative Brotherhood at, 323–324.
Burrard Inlet, named by Vancouver, 38.
Bush, George W., early pioneer, 224.
Butler, Hillory, escapes from Indians, 179.
Busby, Mrs. Margaret Brown, tells of head-hunting Indians, 183.

Caamano Island, named, 34.
Cabrillo and Ferrelo sail northward from Mexico, 9.
Calhoun, John C., Secretary of State, negotiating on Oregon question, 132.
California, the first "New England," 13; leaps from field of war into statehood, 256.
California Gold, its influence on the currency of Old Oregon, 147; draws pioneers from Puget Sound, 149.
Calkins, F. C., "Geology and Water Resources of a Portion of East-central Washington," 335.
Campbell, Archibald, American commissioner on Northwest boundary, 243.
Canada, influence of its loss to France on the history of the Pacific, 20–21; laws of, extended over Oregon, 133.
Canal, Lake Washington, long-continued agitation for, 307–308.
Cannon, A. M., establishes Bank of Spokane Falls, 238.
Canoe Indians, west of the Cascades, 6.
Cape Disappointment, named by Meares, 27.
Capital city, constitutional provision for location of, 286; facts about, 369, 370.
Carr, Job, pioneer of Tacoma, 232.
Carr's Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Carson, Kit, guide for Frémont, 64.
Carver, Jonathan, invents name of Oregon, 27.
Cascade Railroad Company, builds first railroad in Washington Territory, 306–307.
Cascade Range, 1.

Cascades, The, siege and battles of, 193–196.
Case's Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Casey, Lieutenant-colonel Silas, in command at Steilacoom, 187; takes field in White River Valley, 191; goes to San Juan Island with reenforcements, 246.
Cathlamet, seat of Wahkiakum County, 359.
"Catholic Ladder," device of missionaries, 129.
Catholics, the charge that they caused the Whitman massacre, 122; on side of British in Oregon, 124; missions among Oregon Indians, 128–131.
Catlin, George, meets Indians who had gone to St. Louis for missionaries, 107.
Catlin, Seth, member of first Council, 164.
Caton, Thomas N., in Spokane county-seat fight, 238.
Cayuse Indians, treaty with, 171.
Census, first one of Oregon, 110.
Census, Bureau of the, work of, in this State, 349–350.
Centralia, first settlement near, 225.
Chaboneau, joins Lewis and Clark Expedition, 52.
Champoeg, provisional government formed in open field at, 142–143; historic monument at, 143.
Chapman, Mrs. E. L., tells of her escape from the Whitman massacre, 120.
Chapman, John Butler, begins "Chehalis City," 155; removes to Steilacoom, 155; delivers Fourth of July oration, 155.
Chapman, John M., member of first House, 164.
Charity, Washington forward in, 327.
Charters, old and unused, declared invalid, 286.
Chase, Salmon P., quarrels with Lincoln over Washington Territory official, 260.
Chehalis, seat of Lewis County, 358.
Chehalis County, facts about, 357.
Chehalis Indians, attempted treaty with, 173.
Chelan County, facts about, 357.
Cheney, sensational contest for county-seat, 237–239; first called "Depot Springs," 238; State Normal School at, 317; facts about State Normal School at, 369.
Chenoweth, F. A., member of first House, 164.
Chief of Ordnance, United States Army, work of, in this State, 343.
China, market for furs from Astoria, 82.
Chinese, agitation and riots against, 275–277.
Chinese Colony, one of Meares's plans, 29.
Chinn, Major M. A., in conquest of Walla Walla Indians, 185.
Chinook Jargon begun at Nootka, 25.
Chittenden, H. M., "The American Fur Trade," defends accuracy of Irving's "Astoria," 80.
Chow-its-hoot, chief, signs Point Elliott treaty, 168.
Churches, attitude of State toward, 316.
Cibola, Seven Cities of, 10.
Civil Service Commission, United States, work of, in this State, 350.
Clallam County, facts about, 357, 360.
Clark, Frank, leads Legislative opposition to Stevens, 210.
Clark, George Rogers, receives letter from Jefferson about western exploration, 49.
Clark, Captain William, associated with Lewis in command of exploring expedition, 51; Indians seek his help, 106–107; county named for, 357, 360.
Clarke, John, partner of Astor, 82; establishes Fort Spokane, 1812, 85.
Clarke, Brigadier-general Newman S., succeeds Wool, 212; recommends ratification of Indian treaties, 212; holds council at Vancouver, 214.
Clarke County, created by provisional government of Oregon, 148; facts about, 357, 360.

Clarkston, city opposite Lewiston, 234.
Clay, Henry, negotiates Treaty of Ghent, 86; part in Joint Occupancy negotiations, 89–90; his ultimatum on Oregon boundary, 1826, 110.
Clay products, superior quality of, 305.
Coal, discovered on Bellingham Bay, 231; mined in Washington, 305.
Coal Creek Mine, anti-Chinese outbreak at, 275.
Coast Defense Forts, location of, 341–342.
Coast Range, 1.
Cœur d'Alene Indians, surprised by Stevens, 185.
Cole, George E., elected to Congress, 311.
Colfax, beginning of, 234; seat of Whitman County, 359.
Collins, Luther M., Duwamish River pioneer, 228.
Collins, L. N., pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
Colonies, various plantations of, in Puget Sound Basin, 320–324; nearly all exotics, 324.
Columbia, Territory of, memorial to create, 156; name changed to Washington, 157.
Columbia County, facts about, 357.
Columbia Rediviva, American ship on the Northwest coast, 40.
Columbian, The, a newspaper to help create a Territory, 156.
Columbus thought he had found India, 8.
Colville, city near site of old fort, 96; gold discovered near, 177; settled by miners, 233–234; seat of Stevens County, 359.
Colvos Passage, named by Wilkes, 75.
Commencement Bay, named by Wilkes, 74.
Commencement City, former name of Tacoma, 232.
Commissary Department, United States Army, work of, in this State, 342–343.
Commissioners of Public Lands, State, list of, 368.
Compact, made by new State with the United States, 286.
Company A of Seattle, contest over, 208–210.
"Company Stores," attempt to cure evils of, 324.
Conconully, seat of Okanogan County, 358.
Condon, Thomas, geological history of the Pacific Northwest, 1.
Confederate privateer *Shenandoah*, her career in the Pacific, 262–264.
Congregational Church, part in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 113.
Congress, Delegates to, list of, 363.
Congress, representation of State in, 350–351; list of representatives in, 365.
Connell's Prairie, Battle of, 192.
Constantinople, influence of its conquest by the Turks, 7.
Constitution of 1878, members of the convention and their work, 266–267.
Constitution of 1889, convention to frame, is called, 283; membership of the convention, 283; provisions of, 284–287; debates on, never published, 284; criticism and appreciation by one of its framers, 288–289; provision for amendments, 286–287.
Convention to frame constitution, membership of, 283; debates of, never published, 284.
Cook, Francis S., establishes *Spokane Times*, 238.
Cook, James, offered a reward to find Northwest Passage, 14; exploring the South Sea, 21; discovers and names Cape Flattery, 1778, 24; denies the existence of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, 24; his men create stampede for furs, 25.
Cooke, Jay, effect of his failure on Spokane, 238.
Coolidge, R. D., commands the *Grace* from New York, 1792, 43.
Coöperative Brotherhood, plants colony at Burley, 323–324.
Cooper, Enos, killed by Indians, 182.

Copeland, Rev. W. E., reports on colony at Burley, 323–324.
Coquilton, chief, commands hostiles at Battle of Seattle, 190.
Cornefix, A. B., early pioneer, 225.
Cornelius, Thomas R., succeeds to command of Oregon volunteers, 185; disbands Oregon volunteers, 197–198.
Corporations, power to limit and restrain, 286.
Corps of Engineers, United States Army, work of, in this State, 343–344.
Cortes in Mexico, 9.
Coues, Elliott, "History of Lewis and Clark Expedition," 6.
Council of Walla Walla, Indian treaties made at, 169–172.
Counties of Washington, forming of first ones under provisional government, 148; six formed by Oregon Territorial government, 149; origin of their names, dates of organization, seats of government, and other information about, 357–361.
County, form of government provided for, 286.
Coupe, Captain Thomas, founder of Coupeville, 227.
Coupeville, established, 227; seat of Island County, 358.
Cowlitz County, facts about, 357.
Cowlitz Farm, selected for agricultural work of Hudson Bay Company, 99.
Cox, Ross, clerk at Astoria, 85.
Craney, Thomas, sends great flagstaff to Paris Exposition, 264.
Crawford, David, early pioneer, 224.
Crawford, Medoram, votes against the mint for Oregon, 147.
Criminals, cumulative sentences for those confirmed, 325–326.
Crockett, Samuel B., member of committee to oppose British claims, 151; as early pioneer, 224.
Crooks, Ramsay, partner of Astor, 82.
Crosbie, Henry R., member of first House, 164.
Crosby, Captain Clavrick, buys Tumwater interests of Simmons, 226.
Curry, Governor of Oregon, rescues Stevens, 186.
Curtis, Edward S., great work on the North American Indian, 319–320.
Cushing, Caleb, presents important "House Document No. 101," 109.
Customs Service, work of, in this State, 338–339; sub-ports in this State, 339.
Cutler, Lyman A., produces trouble by killing a pig on San Juan Island, 240–241.
Cypress Island, named by Vancouver, 38.

Dakota wheat acre, compared with Washington forest acre, 301.
Damon, Rev. John F., gives early record of Republican Party, 310–311.
Dana's Passage, named by Wilkes, 75.
Darby, J., of the Boston company, 40.
Darwin, Judge C. B., in clash of authority on San Juan, 251.
Davenport, seat of Lincoln County, 358.
Davis, Jefferson, as Secretary of War, has charge of railroad surveys, 160; opposes northern railroad route, 165.
Dayton, seat of Columbia County, 357.
Deaf, State School for, 369, 370.
Debating Lyceum, used to help form provisional government, 141.
Debs, Eugene V., branch of his Social Democracy on Puget Sound, 323–324.
Decatur, sloop-of-war, at Seattle at outbreak of Indian war, 181; receives heads of Indians, 183; in Battle of Seattle, 189–191.
Deception Bay, named by Meares, 27.
Deception Pass, named by Vancouver, 38.
Delegates to Congress, list of, 363.
Delin, Nicholas, first settler on Commencement Bay, 231.
Demers, Father Modeste, arrives in Oregon, 1838, 128; delivers first sermon in Seattle, 129; becomes Bishop of Vancouver, 130.

Democratic Party, in control of Washington Territory to 1861, 310.
Denny, Arthur A., tells of first sermon in Seattle, 129; receives letter from Governor Stevens, 161; describes end of first legislature of Washington, 163–164; member of first House, 164; escapes from Indians, 179; Lieutenant of Company A of Seattle, 209; resorts to sarcasm, 211; and family at founding of Seattle, 229–230; elected to Congress, 311; opposed to legislative divorces, 326.
Denny, David T., advance guard of the "Denny Party," 228.
Denny, Rolland H., birth of, 222.
Dentistry, certificated profession of, 325.
Department of the Columbia, United States Army, headquarters at Vancouver Barracks, 341.
Depositaries, United States, statistics of, in this State, 349.
"Depot Springs," first name of Cheney, 238.
Derby, Lieutenant George H., cartoon of Stevens, 188.
De Smet, Father P. J., visits Oregon missions, 129–130; declines office of Bishop, 130; brings recruits to Oregon, 1844, 130.
Destruction River, named by Barclay, 25.
De Vos, Father, joins Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1844, 130.
Direct primary, adopted in Washington, 313–314.
District Attorneys, Territorial, list of, 363.
Divorce, social evolution, 326–327; by legislative action in early days, 326; constitution prohibits legislative divorces, 326–327.
Dixon Entrance, origin of its name, 27.
Dodd, Captain Charles, recovers Ebey's head from Indians, 206.
Donation Land Law, 220.
Doty, James, signs Medicine Creek treaty, 167.
Douglas, David, botanist, at Fort Vancouver, 96–97.
Douglas, Sir James, succeeds McLoughlin, 103; aids pioneers in time of Indian war, 184; protests against Americans in San Juan case, 241; visits San Juan, 242; his proclamation in San Juan case, 247.
Douglas, Stephen A., undertook to change name of Washington to "Washingtonia," 158; county named for, 357, 360.
Douglas County, facts about, 357, 360.
Downing, J. J., pioneer of Spokane, 237.
Drake, Francis, awakens Spaniards in Pacific, 11; takes possession of Nova Albion, 12; knighted on his vessel, 13; chair made from timbers of his vessel, 13.
Drayton Passage, named by Wilkes, 75.
Drumheller, Daniel, pioneer of Spokane, 238.
Duelling, made an offense by provisional government of Oregon, 146.
Dunbar, Rev. J., deflected from the Oregon mission, 113.
Duniway, Mrs. Abigail Scott, agitates for woman suffrage, 270.
Durgin, Leonard D., member of first House, 164.
Dutch Reformed Church, part in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 113.
Duwamish Indians, treaty with, 168.
Duwamish River, settlement on, 228.
Dye, Eva Emery, "The Conquest," 52.
Dyes Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.

Easterbrook, Doctor George W., survivor of First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry, 258.
Eastern Washington Hospital for the Insane, facts about, 369, 370.
Eaton, Charles, early pioneer, 224.
Eaton, O. M., disappears in Indian country, 179.
Ebey, Isaac N., member of committee to oppose British claims, 151; beheaded by Northern Indians,

205–206; head recovered by Captain Dodd, 206; suggests name of Olympia, 226; claim on Whidbey Island, 227; visits San Juan Island as collector of customs, 241–242.
Economic Survey, by United States Geological Survey in this State, 334.
Edmunds, John, pioneer of Pacific County, 233.
Education, constitutional provision for, 286.
Edwards, P. L., lay-member of first mission, 108.
Eells, Rev. Cushing, joins Oregon mission, 1838, 115.
Eells, Rev. Myron, "History of Indian Missions on the Pacific Coast," 114; "A Reply to Professor Bourne," 123; proves Whitman's visit to Washington, 124.
Elders, William, founder of Steilacoom, 227.
Eld Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Eldridge, Edward, pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
Elective franchise, advanced position of in Washington, 312.
Elisa, report about possible Northwest Passage, 14; leads Spanish expedition of 1790, 32.
Elizabeth, declines wooing of Philip II, 10.
Ellen Maria, schooner, captured by Haidahs, 205.
Ellensburg, destroyed by fire, 1889, 278; State Normal School at, 317; seat of Kittitas County, 358; facts about, 369.
Elliott Bay, named by Wilkes, 74.
Emmons, Lieutenant George F., leads party to California for Wilkes, 78–79.
Enabling Act, approved on Washington's Birthday, 1889, 281; provisions of, 281–283.
Engineers, Corps of, United States Army, work of, in this State, 343–344.
Equality, Freeland Colony established at, 324.
Ethnological riddle, fragments of iron in hands of Indians, 6.
Evans, Elwood, "History of the Pacific Northwest," 101; extricates Arthur A. Denny from a predicament, 163.
Everett, seat of Snohomish County, 359.
Everman, Niniwon, early pioneer, 224.
Exact, schooner, brings "Denny Party" to Puget Sound, 229.
Executive department, to consist of, under constitution, 285.
Expenditures, Public, comparison of those by Nation and State in same area, 353–355; statistics of, 354.
Expositions, participation in, by State of Washington, 308.

Fair, Washington State, facts about, 369.
Fairhaven, becomes part of Bellingham, 231.
Fanjoy, Joseph, disappears in Indian country, 179.
Farnham, Thomas J., leads party from Peoria and issues important book about Northwest, 62; visits Whitman mission, 116; his book reprinted by Greeley, 118.
Fay, Captain Robert C., early trip on Puget Sound, 229.
Federal activity within the State, 328–355; citizens rejoice over, 355.
Feeble-minded, State Institution for, 369, 370.
Ferdinand and Isabella, 7.
Ferguson, Jesse, early pioneer, 224.
Ferguson County, organization abandoned, 361.
Ferry, C. P., on name of Tacoma, 232–233.
Ferry, Governor Elisha P., welcomes President Rutherford B. Hayes, 269; inaugurated as first governor of the State, 287; rejects bill for ton of radishes, 290–291; county named for, 357, 360.
Ferry, Mrs. Elisha P., gives a Puget Sound dinner to Mrs. Hayes, 269–270.
Ferry County, facts about, 357–360.

Fidalgo, Lieutenant Salvador, on Northwest coast, 1790, 32; begins fort at Neah Bay, 33.
Fidalgo Island, named, 34.
Fifty-four Forty or Fight, basis of the campaign cry examined, 132–137; a piece of Yankee bluster, 137.
Fillmore, President Millard, signs act creating Washington Territory, 158.
Fine Arts, beginnings of, in State, 319.
Fire, cities destroyed by, in 1889, 277–279.
First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry, organized, 258.
First Washington Volunteer Infantry, officers of, 296–297; experiences of, in Spanish-American War, 296–298; work of the band and hospital corps of, 298.
Fish hatcheries, in Washington, 304; headquarters of, 369.
Fish industry, law to foster, 292; development of, 304–305.
Fitzgerald, Thomas, guide for Frémont, 65.
Five Crows, chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 171.
Flanders, Alvin, elected to Congress, 311.
Flathead Indians, send delegation to St. Louis for missionaries, 106; treaty with, 172.
Flores, Viceroy, foresaw danger from the United States in 1788, 21.
Florida purchase, 1819, 89; includes quit-claim deed of Spanish interests in Northwest, 92.
Floyd, Representative John, opposes Joint Occupancy and agitates for Oregon, 87–88.
Floyd, John B., Secretary of War, withdraws Harney from Northwest, 250.
Folger, Captain, master of schooner *Exact*, 229.
Ford, Sidney S., early pioneer, 224–225.
Forest reserves, creation of, 302.
Forest Service, in this State, 331.
Forest wealth, importance of, 299–302; conservation of, 301–302.
Forsyth, John, Secretary of State, instructs special agent Slacum, 98.
Fort Bellingham, established, 205.
Fort Canby, 342.
Fort Casey, 341–342.
Fort Clatsop, winter quarters of Lewis and Clark expedition, 53.
Fort Columbia, 342.
Fort Colville, established, 1825, 96.
Fort Flagler, 341–342.
Fort George Wright, 341–342.
Fort Langley, established on Fraser River, 97, 223.
Fort Lawton, 341–342.
Fort Okanogan, established, 1811, 84.
Fort Ross, Russian post in California, 20.
Forts and Posts of United States Army in this State, 341–342.
Fortson, Captain George H., death of, 297–298.
Fort Spokane, established, 1812, 85.
Fort Townsend, established, 205.
Fort Vancouver, established, 1825, 96; David Douglas at, 96–97; Methodist missionaries arrive at, 108; continuous home of white men, 223.
Fort Walla Walla, American, established, 202; statistics of, 341–342.
Fort Walla Walla, British, established, 1818, 86; destroyed by fire, 101.
Fort Ward, 341–342.
Fort Worden, 341–342.
Fort Wrangell, built in 1834, 20.
Forty-ninth parallel, selected as boundary west of the Rockies, 136.
Fox Island, named by Wilkes, 75.
Franchere, Gabriel, clerk at Astoria, 84.
Franklin, Benjamin, county named for, 358.
Franklin County, facts about, 358.
Fraser, Simon, plants British posts below 54° 40′, 81.
Fraser River, existence denied by Vancouver, 34; gold excitement on, brought many Americans to Northwest, 243–244.
Freeland Colony, established at Equality, 324.

Frémont, John Charles, romantic life of the so-called pathfinder, 62–66; marriage with Jessie Benton, 63; cannibalistic experience, 64; Senator from California, 64; candidate for the presidency, 64; in the Northwest, 64–66.
French-Canadian settlers, send for Catholic priests, 128; oppose formation of provisional government, 142–143.
Friars plant missions in California, 10.
Friday Harbor, seat of San Juan County, 359.
Frost, Rev. J. H., joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111; interview with his widow in 1907, 111.
Funter, Robert, in command of the schooner built at Nootka, 27.
Fur quest, stampede for, created by Cook's crew, 25.
Fusion party, successful in 1896, 292; officers elected by, 292; composition and victory of, 312.

Galiher, Milas, pioneer of Tacoma, 232.
Gallatin, Albert, negotiates Treaty of Ghent, 86; negotiates Treaty of Joint Occupancy, 1818, 87; extension of Joint Occupancy, 89–90; letter from Clay, 110.
Galliano, Dionisio, in Gulf of Georgia, 1792, 34.
Game reserves, established in this State, 333.
Gansevoort, Captain Guert, succeeds to command of *Decatur*, 189; in battle of Seattle, 190.
Garfield, President James A., county named for, 358, 360.
Garfield County, facts about, 358, 360.
Garfielde, Seleucius, defeated for Congress, 310–311; elected to Congress, 311.
Garnett, Major, ordered to seize hostile chiefs, 199; vengeful expedition of, in Yakima country, 214–216.
Garry, Chief, parleys with Colonel Wright, 214.
Gary, Rev. George, succeeds Rev. Jason Lee, 112; closes the Methodist Missions, 113.
Gaston, Lieutenant William, killed in Battle of Steptoe Butte, 213.
General Land Office, work of, in the State, 330.
Geological history of the Pacific Northwest, 1–5.
Geologic column of Washington, 3.
Geologic provinces of Washington, 4.
Ghent, Treaty of, Astoria restored to Americans, 86.
Gibbs, George, signs Medicine Creek treaty, 167; becomes opponent of Governor Stevens, 176; cites causes of Indian war, 176–177.
Gilliam, Colonel Cornelius, punishes perpetrators of Whitman massacre, 121.
Glasgow, Thomas W., driven from claim on Whidbey Island, 225.
Gleason, Hon. C. S., names Ferry County, 360.
Glennis, socialist colony at, collapses, 321.
Glover, James W., locates at Spokane, 238.
Gold, draws settlers to Eastern Washington, 234; influence of the California discoveries, 255–256.
Gold, of Alaska, effect of, on State of Washington, 293–295.
Goldendale, seat of Klickitat County, 358.
Goldsborough, Major H. A., report on early sawmill development, 300.
Goliah, chief, signs Point Elliott treaty, 169.
Good roads, era of making, is entered, 308.
Governors, State, list of, 367.
Governors, Territorial, list of, 362.
Grande Ronde, Battle of, 198.
Granite, quarries of, 305.
Grant, Frederick James, "History of Seattle," 228.
Grant, U. S., investigates clash on San Juan, 251; his desire to live on Pacific Coast, 257.
Gray, Captain Robert, visits Vancouver, 36; American captain on

the Northwest coast, 40–43; calls Tillamook Bay "Murderer's Harbor," 40–41; salutes the launching of Meares's schooner, 41; great bargain for an old chisel, 41; calls Queen Charlotte Island, "Washington Island," 41; first to carry the Stars and Stripes around the globe, 41; received by Governor Hancock in Boston, 41–42; returns to Clayoquot, 1791, 42; thwarts attempted Indian massacre, 42; discovers Gray's Harbor, 42; discovers Columbia River, 42; builds schooner *Adventurer*, 42; sells schooner and returns home, 43.
Gray, W. H., lay-member of the Whitman mission, 114; "A History of Oregon," 138.
Great Britain, treaties of Joint Occupancy with, 87–90; treaty with Russia in 1825, 93; strength of her claims in Oregon, 137; representatives of, hold posts in Old Oregon, 223.
Greeley, Horace, editorial on Whitman, 118; reprints Farnham's book, 118; friendship for "Okanogan" Smith, 153.
Green, Captain Joseph, commands Seattle Rifles during anti-Chinese riots, 277.
Greenhow, Doctor Robert, "Memoir on the Northwest Coast," 125.
Griffin, Charles J., represents Hudson Bay Company on San Juan Island, 240; orders Pickett to leave San Juan, 245.
Gros Ventres Indians, treaty with, 172.
Gubernatorial message, by provisional executive committee, 144.

Haidahs, capture two schooners, 205.
Hale, Calvin H., member of first House, 164.
Hale, Horatio, left in Oregon by Wilkes to study Indians, 79.
Hale's Passage, named by Wilkes, 75.
Hall, E. O., accompanied printing press from Honolulu, 115.
Haller, Colonel Granville O., relates anecdote of Bonneville, 61–62; sends escort to Council of Walla Walla, 169; punish Snake Indian murderers, 178; leads expedition against the Yakimas, 180; in charge of Fort Townsend, 205; in temporary command on San Juan Island, 245–246.
Hammersley's Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Hancock, Samuel, burns first bricks, 225.
Hanford, Mrs. Abbie J., tells of earliest settlement of Seattle, 227–228.
Hanford, Cornelius H., United States District Judge, 339.
Hanson, Ackerson & Co., build mill at Tacoma, 232.
Harbor line, commission to establish, 291.
Harbors of Washington, improved by Corps of Engineers, United States Army, 344.
Harney, General W. S., commands new Department of Oregon, 212; opens Walla Walla country to settlers, 212; orders troops to San Juan Island, 244–245; willing to provoke foreign war, 244; commends Pickett, 246; invited by Scott to change commands, 248–249; approved by Washington Territorial Legislature, 249; replaces Pickett on San Juan Island, 249; withdrawn from Oregon, 250.
Harrison, President Benjamin, proclaims new State of Washington, 287.
Hartstene Island, named by Wilkes, 75.
Hastings, pioneer, of Port Townsend, 227.
Haswell, Robert, mate under Gray, 42; commands the *Adventurer*, 42.
Hatch, C., of the Boston company, 40.
Hatch fund, use of, in this State, 331.
Hatton, Mike, in Spokane county-seat fight, 238.
Hawaii, visit of W. P. Hunt from Astoria, 85.

Hays, Captain Gilmore, turned back from Yakima campaign, 182.
Hays, Smith, pioneer of Tacoma, 231.
Heceta, Bruno, commands Spanish expedition of 1775, 22–24; surmises a river where later the Columbia was found, 24.
Hell Gate, Indian treaty at, 172.
Henness, Captain, his experience reveals honesty of volunteers, 206–207.
Henry, Andrew, success in mountain fur trade, 56–57.
Henry, Francis, author of the song, "The Old Settler," 268.
Hewitt, Captain C. C., visits scene of White River massacre, 184.
Hewitt, Henry, discovers coal at Bellingham, 231.
Higginson, Mrs. Ella, tells how Bellingham cities coalesced, 231; writings of, 319.
Hill, James J., tells of relative importance of agriculture and railroads, 305–306.
Hill, Samuel, commends State's laws for road making, 308.
Hines, Rev. Gustavus, joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111; tells of success and failure at The Dalles, 112; avoids trap on Fourth of July, 143.
Holgate, John C., early claim on Elliott Bay, 228.
Holgate, Milton G., killed in Battle of Seattle, 190.
Holman, Frederick V., "Doctor John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon," 95; suggests Thurston County be changed to "McLoughlin County," 361.
Holman, James D., founder of Ilwaco, 233.
Holy Alliance, helps to provoke the Monroe Doctrine, 91–92.
Home, non-resistant anarchist colony near Tacoma, 321–323.
Honolulu, gifts from missionaries there, 115.
Hood Canal, named by Vancouver, 36.
Hornby, Captain Geoffrey Phipps, proposes joint occupancy of San Juan by British and Americans, 246.
Horse Indians, east of the Cascades, 6.
Horseshoers, examined and registered, 325.
Hospitals for Insane, facts about, 369, 370.
"House Document No. 101," presented by Caleb Cushing, 109; ten thousand copies printed, 109; contains important memoirs, 110.
Howard, Captain Daniel S., master of the brig *Leonesa*, 299.
Howe, Samuel D., member of first House, 164.
Howe's Sound, named by Vancouver, 38.
Howison, Lieutenant Neil M., receives launch of *Peacock*, 145.
Hoyt, John P., elected president of constitutional convention, 283; administers oath of office to Governor Ferry, 287.
Hudson Bay Company, one reason for its charter was search for the Northwest Passage, 14; absorbs Northwest Company in 1821, 86; chartered, 1670, 95; sends McLoughlin to the Columbia, 1824, 95; control exercised in Old Oregon, 95–105; contest over claims, 103–105; retired servants settle in Willamette Valley, 108; rescue of survivors of Whitman massacre, 121; did not cause the massacre, 122; coöperation with Catholic missionaries, 123–124; extends aid in time of Indian war, 184; authority defied by Pickett on San Juan, 245.
Hunt, James M., captain of the *Major Tompkins*, 203.
Hunt, John, early pioneer, 224.
Hunt, Willis Price, first resident agent of Astoria, 82; leads overland party to Astoria, 84–85; visits Hawaii, 85; returns to Astoria too late, 86.
Huntington, H. D., convention meets at his home, 1852, 156; member of first House, 164.

"Idaho," State of, early effort to create, 236.
Idaho, Territory of, its creation in 1863 fixes Washington's eastern line, 158; organized, 237.
Idaho County, created, 236.
Illiteracy, Washington's low percentage of, 316–317.
Ilwaco, founded by Holman, 233.
Immigration and Naturalisation, Bureau of, work of, in this State, 350.
Indebtedness, bonded, rush into, by State, counties, cities, towns and school districts, 290.
Indebtedness of State, limited, 286.
Indians had fragments of iron, 5–6.
Indians of Washington, treaties with, 166–175; list of, made by Governor Stevens, 174.
Indian reservations, eighteen in this State, 333.
Indian treaties, no politics in opposition to, 216; main opposition by General Wool, 216; eight ratified by Senate on same day, 217; seeming necessity of, 220.
Indian wars, 1855–1858, 176–219.
Ingraham, Joseph, commands brig *Hope*, 1791, 43.
Insane, hospitals for, maintained at Steilacoom and Medical Lake, 327; facts about, 369, 370.
Institutions of State, list of, 369–371.
Internal Revenue Service, work of, in this State, 339.
Invincible Armada, 13.
Iroquois Indians, immigrants from Canada, 106.
Irrigation, law for, 292; begun by Whitman, 302–303; later development of, 303–304; Congressman Jones on, 304.
Irving, Washington, letter from Wyeth about Japanese derelicts, 70; classics by, 71; accuracy of Astoria defended, 80.
Island County, created by Territorial government of Oregon, 149; facts about, 358.

Jackson, John R., court to meet at his home, 150; member of first House, 164; makes his home on Jackson Prairie, 224.
Jacobs, Judge Orange, elected to Congress, 311–312.
Jamieson, killed by Yakima Indians, 179.
Japanese junk, wrecked on West coast, 70.
Jefferson, Thomas, his part in the evolution of the Lewis and Clark expedition, 49–51; county named for, 358.
Jefferson County, created by Territorial government of Oregon, 149; facts about, 358.
Jefferson Davis, revenue cutter, 203.
Jewitt, John R., enslaved by Nootka Indians, 1803, 43.
John Hancock, United States steamer, 204.
Johnson, President Andrew, memorial to, on Russian America, 153.
Johnson, Miss Elvira, joins missionaries, 109.
Johnson, H. E., early postmaster at Walla Walla, 234.
Johnson, Lieutenant, leads party from Nisqually to Fort Colville, 1841, 76.
Joint High Commission of 1871, submits San Juan case to arbitration, 252–253.
Joint Occupancy, Treaty of, 1818, 87; extended, 1827, 90; solved by missionaries and pioneers, 90; notice to end the treaty, 1846, 135; mutual rights recognised under provisional government, 144.
Jones, Gabriel, early pioneer, 224.
Jones, Harry N., he and wife killed by Indians, 182.
Jones, Congressman Wesley L., on irrigation in Washington, 303–304.
Joseph, chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 172.
Juan de Fuca, Strait of, and how the name arose, 15–16; "renamed" by Meares, 26.
Judges, Territorial, list of, 362.
Judges of State Supreme Court, list of, 366–367.
Judiciary, to consist of, under con-

stitution, 285; appreciation of, 288–289.
Judson, Peter, pioneer of 1853, 232.

Kalama, seat of Cowlitz County, 357.
Kamiakin, chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 170–171; his plan of war, 179–180.
Kassass, Indian Chief, hanged at Nisqually, 149.
Kautz, Lieutenant, wounded by Indians, 192.
Keith, James, predecessor of McLoughlin, on the Columbia, 97.
Kelley, Hall J., Boston schoolmaster, agitates for Oregon, 88–89; his memoir in the Cushing Document, 110.
Kelling, Henry, tells of early Walla Walla railroad work, 306.
Kellogg, Doctor J. C., picked for slaughter by Northern Indians, 205.
Kellogg, L. E., editor of *Northwest Tribune*, 238.
Kelly, Lieutenant-colonel James K., conquers Walla Walla Indians, 185.
Kelly, Sergeant Matthew, commands at Cascades blockhouse, 193.
Kendrick, John, puts in at the Islands of Juan Fernandez in 1788, 21; on the Northwest Coast, 40–43.
Kindred, David, early pioneer, 224.
King, George E., he and wife killed by Indians, 182.
King, Doctor John, survivor of White River massacre, 182.
King, Vice-president William R., county named for, 358, 360.
King County, created by Territorial government of Oregon, 149; facts about, 358, 360.
"King George-Man," means Englishman in Chinook Jargon, 44.
Kinnear, Captain George, commands Home Guard during anti-Chinese riots, 277.
Kip, Lieutenant Lawrence, at Council of Walla Walla, 169–170.
Kitsap, elder chief, act of friendliness to white people, 182; county named for, 360–361.
Kitsap County, facts about, 358, 360–361.
Kittitas County, facts about, 358.
Klickitat County, facts about, 358, 360.
Klickitat Indians, trouble with, 169; intermarriage with western tribes, 177.
Klondike news from the gold fields of, 293.
Kootenay Indians, treaty with, 172.
Krenitzin, Captain, 19.

Lady Washington, American sloop accompanying the Columbia, 46.
Lake Washington Canal, long-continued agitation for, 307–308.
Lamanse, Indian interpreter, sole survivor of *Tonquin* disaster, 83.
Lancaster, Columbia, supreme judge of Oregon, 1847, 150; as first delegate to Congress, 165.
Lancaster, Samuel C., becomes professor of science of road making, 308.
Lander, Edward, Judge, member of advisory code commission, 162; escapes from Indians, 179; arrested during martial law, 196–197; Captain of Company A of Seattle, 209; defeated for Congress, 311.
Lander, Frederick W., with the railroad surveyors, 160.
Landes, Henry, geologic column of Washington, 3; geologic provinces of Washington, 4.
Land grants, new State receives, 282.
Lands, public, means for exploiting provided, 291–292.
Lane, General Joseph, first Territorial governor of Oregon, 145; as Delegate to Congress, aids in creation of Washington Territory, 156–159; establishes Fort Steilacoom, 1849, 150; Stevens works in harmony with, 218–219; candidate for vice-presidency, 219.
Langlois, Rev. A., joins Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1842, 130.
Lansdale, R. H., early settler on Whidbey Island, 227.
La Perouse, on the coast in 1786, 32.
Lapwai, chosen as site of the Spalding mission, 114.

Last Spike celebration, ceremonies attending completion of Northern Pacific Railroad, 272–273.
Launch of the *Peacock*, peculiar contest over, 145.
Law, certificated profession of, 325.
Laws of Iowa, adopted by the provisional government of Oregon, 146.
Laws of New York, vague attempt to adopt them, 139.
Lawyer, Nez Percé chief, entertained by Bonneville, 61; saves white men at Council of Walla Walla, 170–171; arrives at second Walla Walla council, 200.
Leary, Mrs. Eliza Ferry, represents State in Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 319.
Ledyard, John, with Cook at Nootka, 40; seeks to explore the far West, 49–50.
Lee, Daniel, the Indians' Macedonian cry for missionaries, 107; goes to Oregon as missionary, 108.
Lee, Major H. A. G., punishes perpetrators of Whitman massacre, 121.
Lee, Jason, heads Methodist Mission party, 108; marriage with Miss Pittman, 109; goes East, 1838, 109; furnishes part of Cushing document, 109; gets reënforcements, 111; succeeded by Rev. George Gary, 112; death in 1845 and reburial in 1906, 112; he mildly ridicules the effort to form a government, 142.
Legal tender, singular provisions of, 146–147.
Legislature, powers and limitations of, under constitution, 284–285.
Leonesa, brig, arrival of, at Alki, 299.
Leschi, chief, signs treaty, 167; a busy intriguer, 177; assists hostiles in Battle of Seattle, 190; sensational trial and execution of, 207.
Leslie, Rev. David, joins missionaries, 109.
Levaschef, Captain, 79.
Lewis, A. Lee, member of first House, 164.
Lewis, Joe, mixed-blood Indian who led in Whitman massacre, 120.
Lewis, Captain Meriwether, crossing the divide, 6; becomes Jefferson's secretary, 50; leader of exploring expedition, 51; county named for, 358, 360.
Lewis and Clark expedition, 1803–1806, 49–54; personnel of the party, 52; importance of, to American claims, 54.
Lewis and Clark River, 53.
Lewis County, created by the provisional government of Oregon, 148; facts about, 358, 360.
Lewis River, named by Clark, 53.
Lewiston, city at mouth of Clearwater, 234.
Libraries, public, many, in State, 318.
Library, State, facts about, 369.
Lieutenant-governors, State, list of, 367.
Life-saving Service, work of, in this State, 337–338.
Lighthouse Establishment of America, work of, in this State, 336–337.
Lighthouses, list of those in Washington, 336.
Lincoln, Abraham, declines governorship of Oregon Territory, 149; encounters trouble with Chase over Washington Territory official, 260; approves grant of land to Northern Pacific Railroad, 307; county named for, 358, 360.
Lincoln County, facts about, 358, 360.
Lindsley, Hon. A. A., gives documents from Lancaster home, 165.
Lindsley, Rev. A. L., pioneer preacher, 165.
Linn, Senator Lewis Fields, agitates for Oregon, 88; has Senate pass a bill for Oregon in 1843, 126.
Lippy, Thomas S., cautions Alaska gold hunters, 293.
Literature, beginnings of, in State, 319.
Locomotive engineers, position of, recognized by State, 325.
Log-cabin homes, 221.
Logging companies, law for, 292.

Lok, Michael, famous note by, 15.
Longmire, James, opposes division of Washington Territory, 236.
Looking-Glass, chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 171; plots against the white people, 177–178.
Lot, chief, converted at Tshimakain, 116.
Lovejoy, A. L., Whitman's companion on the famous ride, 117–119.
Low, John N., one of founders of Seattle, 229–230.
Low, Mrs. John N., drives an Indian from her home, 222.
Lowell, James Russell, appreciation of Wyeth, 67–68.
Luhn, Adjutant William L., official historian of First Washington Volunteer Infantry, 298.
Lumber, first cargo shipped from the coast, 27–28.
Lummi Indians, treaty with, 168.
Lysle, J. W., pioneer of Bellingham, 231.

McAllister, James, early pioneer, 224.
McCarver, General Morton Matthew, one of founders of Tacoma, 232–233.
McClellan, George B., failure as a surveyor in the Cascades, 160–161; shows how Americans sought war with Great Britain over San Juan case, 244.
McConaha, George N., unfortunate death of, 163–164; member of the first council of Washington, 164.
McDonald, Archibald, establishes Nisqually House, 1833, 98.
McDougal, Duncan, partner of Astor, 82.
McDougall, Commander David, of the *John Hancock*, 204.
McFadden, Judge O. B., elected to Congress, 311.
McGee, James, commands the *Margaret* from Boston, 1792, 43.
McGill, Acting Governor Henry, asks for counties in Eastern Washington, 235.
McGraw, Governor John H., wields veto pruning knife, 292.
McKay, Alexander, partner of Astor, 82; lost in *Tonquin*, 83.
McKay, Charles, tells of fraternizing of British and American troops on San Juan Island, 250.
McKay, Thomas, quiets Indians at Whitman mission, 119.
McKenzie, Donald, partner of Astor, 82; establishes post on Snake River, 1812, 85; establishes Fort Walla Walla, 1818, 86.
McLean, Alexander, pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
McLellan, Robert, partner of Astor, 82.
McLoughlin, Doctor John, becomes chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company on the Columbia, 1824, 95; establishes agriculture, 97; first manager of Puget Sound Agricultural Company, 99; his last days, 103; directs missionaries to Willamette Valley, 108; friendship with Whitman, 114; return to Catholic Church, 129; consulted about formation of provisional government, 140; not opposed to provisional government, 143; begins agriculture in Washington, 302.
"McLoughlin County," name suggested for Thurston County, 361.
McMullin, Governor Fayette, obtains legislative divorce, 326.
McNeil Island, named, 76; United States Penitentiary on, 340–341.
Mackenzie, Alexander, discovers the Mackenzie River, 1789, 45–46; crosses by land to the Pacific, 1793, 46–47; aids his Indian guide, 47–48; urges the British to follow up his explorations, 48.
Magellan's voyage, discovering the size of and naming the Pacific, 8.
Major Tompkins, steamer, arrival of, 203.
Makah Indians, treaty with, 169.
Maloney, Captain Maurice, turned back from Yakima campaign, 182.
Mandan Indian Village, Lewis and Clark at, 51–52.
Manning, William Ray, "The Nootka Sound Controversy," 22.

Maple, Jacob, Duwamish River pioneer, 228.
Maple, Samuel, Duwamish River pioneer, 228.
Maquinna, chief of Nootkans, destroys ship *Boston*, 1803, 43.
Marcy, Secretary of State W. L., advises conciliation over San Juan, 242.
Maria's River, Lewis wounded on, 54.
Marrowstone Point, named by Vancouver, 36.
Marshall, William I., his extreme view of Whitman's ride and services, 122; manuscript history of the Whitman mission, 123.
Marshals, Territorial, list of, 363.
Martial law, proclaimed by Governor Stevens, 196–197; revoked by Stevens, 197.
Martinez, Estevan José, seizes English ship at Nootka, 1789, 28.
Mason, Charles H., becomes first Secretary of Washington Territory, 159; becomes acting governor, 165; signs Medicine Creek treaty, 167; is deceived by hostile Indians, 180–181; requests aid from Hudson Bay Company, 183–184; county named for, 358, 360.
Mason County, facts about, 358, 360.
Massachusetts, United States steamer, arrival of, on Puget Sound, 203.
Matheny, J. N., locates at Spokane, 238.
Maury Island, named by Wilkes, 75.
May Dacre, brig, mission goods arrive on, 108.
Maynard, Mrs. Catherine T., perilous canoe ride, 189–190.
Maynard, Doctor D. S., arrival at Seattle colony, 230.
Mead, Governor Albert E., tells amusing story of Walla Walla's first railroad, 306.
Meares, John, unconventional and interesting character of the man, 25; his scheme of double colors, 25–26; builds a schooner, 26; rediscovers strait of Juan de Fuca, 26; names Mount Olympus, Shoalwater Bay, Cape Disappointment, and Deception Bay, 26–27; praises spar timber of the coast, 27; memorial of his supposed losses at Nootka, 30.
Meat inspection in this State, 333.
Medical Lake, hospital for the insane at, 327.
Medicine, certificated profession of, 325.
Medicine Creek Indian treaty, 167.
Menzies, Archibald, meets Captain Gray, 36.
Mercer, Asa S., brings cargoes of women to Puget Sound, 261–262.
"Mercer Girls," women brought to Puget Sound by Asa S. Mercer, 261–262.
Merilet, L. O., escapes from Indians, 179.
Methodist-Episcopal Church, first to send missionaries to Oregon, 108.
Methodist Mission in Oregon, find work among white and half-breeds as well as Indians, 108–109; branch missions, 109–112; reaches high tide in 1840, 111–112.
Mexico, war with, effect on Oregon of acquiring California, 148–149.
Michaux, André, recalled from western exploration, 50.
Middleton, Henry, negotiates treaty with Russia in 1824, 93.
Military Academy, United States, representation of the State in, 351–352; first cadet from this State in, 351–352.
Military duty, citizens liable to, 286.
Militia, of State, reflects extravagance prevalent at beginning of Statehood, 290–291; aided by Federal government, 345–346.
Miller, Joaquin, anecdote of, 234–235.
Miller, Joseph, partner of Astor, 82.
Mills, Henry, member of first Council, 164.
Mineral resources of the State, federal report on, 334.
Mining interests of the State, 305.
Mint, Oregon provides for one, 147.
Mission homes in Washington, fate of, 223.
Mission printing press, missionary gift from Honolulu, 115; relic in

collection of Oregon Historical Society, Portland, 115.
Missions of California, 10.
Missoula County, created, 236.
Monopolies, forbidden by constitution, 286.
Monroe, James, announces the Monroe Doctrine, 93.
Monroe, Victor, Judge, member of advisory code commission, 162.
Monroe Doctrine, provoked in part by Russian claims to West coast, 91–94; authorship of, 92–93.
Montesano, settled in 1852, 233; seat of Chehalis County, 357.
Monticello, convention at, 1852, 156.
Moore, Governor Miles C., tells of courage of people after great fires of 1889, 279.
Moorish rule, end of, in Spain, 7.
Moran Brothers Company, build battleship *Nebraska* at Seattle, 347.
Morrill fund, use in this State, 331.
Morton, James, editor and school teacher at Home Colony, 322.
Moseley, Henry, member of first House, 164.
Moses, Bernard, absolutism of Spanish kings, 7–8.
Mount Baker, named by Vancouver, 36.
Mount Olympus, first seen by the Spaniards who called it Santa Rosalia, 22; named by Meares, 26.
Mount Rainier, named by Vancouver, 36.
Mount Rainier National Park, work of the government in, 331–333.
Mount Vernon Ladies Association, Washington secures representation in, 319.
Mt. Vernon, seat of Skagit County, 359.
Muckilteo, Point Elliott Indian treaty made at, 168–169.
Mullan Road, from Fort Benton to Walla Walla, 166.
Multnomah Circulating Library, one scheme at foundation of the provisional government, 141.
Museum, State, facts about, 369, 370.
Naches Pass, used by immigrants, 232.
Napoleon, sells Louisiana to the United States, 51.
Native races of Washington, 5.
Naval Academy, United States, representation of the State in, 352.
Navy, of United States, work of the Department in this State, 346–347.
Navy Yard, Puget Sound, location and growth of, 346–347.
Neah Bay, Spaniards take possession, calling place Nuñez Gaona, 33; treaty of, 169.
Nebraska, battleship, built at Seattle, 347.
Nesmith, Hon. James W., president, of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 104; with expedition against Yakimas, 181–182; Superintendent of Indians in Oregon and Washington, 210.
Netherlands, King of, declined as arbitrator of San Juan dispute, 252.
New Dungeness, named by Vancouver, 36.
New Georgia, Vancouver's name for this region, 37; becomes Washington, 39.
New Hanover, Vancouver's name for what is now British Columbia, 39.
New Market, first name for Tumwater, 224.
New Whatcom, becomes part of Bellingham, 231.
"New York Alki," first name of Seattle, 230.
New York Spectator, describes Whitman on way to Boston, 118.
Nez Percé, Gospels and hymns printed in language of, 115.
Nez Percé War of 1877, 171–172.
Nez Percé County, created, 236.
Nez Percé Indians, called Chopunnish by Lewis and Clark, 53; send delegation to St. Louis for missionaries, 106; Treaty with, 171–172; hold to side of peace, 178.
Nicaragua, Lake, first suggestion of a canal through, 14.
Nisqually House, established, 1833, 98.

Nisqually Indians, treaty with, 167.
Nixon, Doctor Oliver W., "How Whitman saved Oregon," 128; composite portrait of Whitman, 127–128.
Nobili, Father, joins, Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1844, 130.
Nootka, discovered by Perez, 1774, 22.
Nootka Sound Controversy, its beginning, 28–29; the treaty ending the controversy, 31.
Normal schools, wild scramble for, at beginning of Statehood, 291; maintained by the State at Cheney, Ellensburg, and Bellingham, 317; facts about, 369.
Northern Indians, defeated at Battle of Port Gamble, 204; obtain horrible revenge, 205–206.
Northern Pacific Railroad, attempt to incorporate, 210–211; agitation in behalf of, 265; completion of, 271–273; agitation for forfeiture of unearned land grant of, 273–274; Lincoln approves grant of land to, 307.
Northwest Company, attempts to forestall Astor at mouth of Columbia, 81; purchase of Astoria, 85; absorbed by Hudson Bay Company, 86; first posts south of 54°, 222–223.
Northwest Passage, search for, 14–15.
North Yakima, seat of Yakima County, 359.
Notre Dame de Namur, Sisters of, six join Oregon mission, 1844, 130.
Nova Albion, named by Drake, 12.

Oath of office, prepared by provisional government, 144.
Obelisk, monument at Nootka where Quadra and Vancouver met, 44.
Officers, State, lists of, 365–368.
Officers, Territorial, lists of, 362–364.
Ogden, Peter Skeen, Chief Factor of Hudson Bay Company, rescues Whitman massacre survivors, 121.
Okanogan County, facts about, 358.
Old Oregon, first seen by white man in 1543, 9–10; how trading posts differ from those elsewhere, 55; the one conquest from the wilderness under the Stars and Stripes, 137; divided into districts, 147–148.
Old Tom, Indian, saves three white children, 182.
Olympia, Fourth of July celebrations at, in 1851 and 1852, 155–156; named as first capital city, 162; seat of Thurston County, 359.
Olympia, cruiser, presented with silver service, 347.
Olympic Mountains, final uplift, 1.
Orbit, brig, part in beginnings of Puget Sound commerce, 226.
Ordnance, Chief of, United States Army, work of, in this State, 343.
Oregon, name invented by Jonathan Carver, 27; no danger of being lost at time of Whitman's ride, 125; danger of losing part of, through Webster, 126–127; Whitman's share toward saving, 127; more British than American in 1843, 143; considered a part of the diocese of Quebec by Catholic Church, 144; admitted to Statehood, 1859, 158; retarded by California gold excitement, 256.
Oregon Historical Society, reprints editorial on Whitman by Greeley, 118.
Oregon Institute, acquires building of Methodist Mission, 113.
Oregon Land Law, 220.
Oregon Pioneer Association, publishes Whitman letter to Secretary of War, 124.
Oregon Provisional Emigration Society, its constitution in the Cushing Document, 110.
Oregon Volunteers, punish Walla Walla Indians, 172.
Organic Law, the Territory's constitution for thirty-six years, 159.
Organic Laws, of Oregon, preamble of, 144–145.
Oro Fino mines, develops Walla Walla trade, 234.
Orphans, care of, 327.
Osborn, Henry F., prehistoric migrations of animals, 3–4.
Owhi, chief, at Council of Walla

Walla, 171; at Battle of Seattle, 190; shot while attempting escape, 216.
Oyster industry, begun at Willapa, 233; development of, 305.

"Pacific City," boomed by Doctor Elijah White, 233.
Pacific County, created by Territorial government of Oregon, 149; first settlers in, 233; facts about, 358.
Pacific Northwest, history connected with that of Europe, 7.
Packwood, William, presides at meeting to oppose British claims, 151.
Page, H. C., pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
Pakenham, Richard, British envoy, on Oregon boundary, 133.
Palladino, L. B., S.J., "Indian and White in the Northwest," 130.
Palmer, General Joel, at Council of Walla Walla, 169–172.
Palmerston, Lord, receives information on San Juan from Bancroft, 243.
Panama Canal, suggested by De Soto, 14.
Paris Exposition of 1867, Washington Territory's exhibit a great flag-staff, 264–265.
Parke, Lieutenant John G., surveyor on Northwest boundary commission, 243.
Parker, David, early pioneer, 224.
Parker, Captain J. G., his steamer *Traveler* in Battle of Port Gamble, 204.
Parker, Rev. Samuel, advanced agent of the Whitman mission, 113; his book, 113.
Parkman, Francis, refers to Frémont's journal, 66.
Parrish, Rev. J. L., joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111.
Pasco, seat of Franklin County, 358.
Pataha, beginning of, 234.
Patkanim, Chief of Snoqualmies, attack on Fort Nisqually, 149; signs Point Elliott treaty, 168; warns white people of war, 177; becomes ally of white people during Indian war, 183; drives settlers from Whidbey Island, 225.
Patriotic League of Tacoma, abandons scheme to clean out Home Colony, 322.
Pattle, William, discovers coal on Bellingham Bay, 231.
Paulding, J. K., his memoir in the Cushing Document, 110.
Peabody, R. V., pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
Peace, Captain William C., commands the *Jefferson Davis*, 203.
Peace medals, used by Lewis and Clark, 54.
Peacock, sloop-of-war, wreck of, 78.
Penitentiary, State, facts about, 369, 371.
Penitentiary, United States, on McNeil Island, 340–341.
Penn's Cove, named by Vancouver, 37.
Penrose, S. B. L., his extreme view of Whitman's ride and services, 122.
Pensions, Bureau of, work of, and amount of pensions paid in this State, 347.
People of Washington, cosmopolitan character of, 309.
Percival, Daniel F., relates early struggles of Cheney, 237.
Perez, Juan, discovers Nootka, which he named San Lorenzo, 1774, 22.
Perkins, Rev. H. K. W., joins missionaries, 109.
Peter the Great, orders Bering to explore the Pacific, 18.
Petition of 1838, memorial to Congress, 109.
Petition of 1840, asking for Territorial government for Oregon, 138–139.
Pettygrove, pioneer of Port Townsend, 227.
Pharmacists, examined and certified, 325.
Phelps, Lieutenant T. S., describes Patkanim, 183.
Philip II, influence of his marriage with Queen Mary, 10.
Philippine Islands, conquered by the Spaniards, 10.
Pickering, William, "War Governor"

of Washington, 264; tells of great flag-staff for Paris Exposition of 1867, 264–265; opposes legislative divorces, 326.
Pickering Passage, named by Wilkes, 75.
Pickett, Captain George E., in charge of Fort Bellingham, 205; lands troops on San Juan Island, 245; successfully resists British, 245–246; thanked by Washington Legislature, 249; resigns from army, 250; leads charge at Gettysburg, 250.
Pierce, President Franklin, proclaims Medicine Creek treaty, 167; county named for, 358, 360.
Pierce County, created by Territorial government of Oregon, 149; facts about, 358, 360.
Pig, crisis produced over, in San Juan case, 240.
Piles, Senator Samuel H., tells of lighthouses, 336; tells of work of Life-saving Service, 338.
Pilot Cove, named by Wilkes, 74.
Pinknell, John E., pioneer of Pacific County, 233.
Pintard, J. M., of the Boston company, 40.
Pio-pio-mox-mox, chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 170–171; death of, 172.
Plomondon, Simon, first settler on Cowlitz Prairie, 99.
Plumbers, examined and licensed, 325.
Plummer, pioneer of Port Townsend, 227.
Poinsett, J. R., his memoir in the Cushing Document, 110.
Point Elliott Indian treaty, made at Muckilteo, 168–169.
Point Francis, named by Vancouver, 38.
Point Grenville, named by Vancouver, 35.
Point Partridge, named by Vancouver, 37.
Point Roberts, named for Captain Henry Roberts, 35.
Point William, named by Vancouver, 38.
Point Wilson, named by Vancouver, 37.
Polk, James K., Oregon in his campaign for the presidency, 132; urgent for retention of Oregon, 133–134; advance advice from Senate, 135; steadfast friend of Oregon, 136; tribute to the pioneers, 138.
Pomeroy, seat of Garfield County, 358.
Port Angeles, the "Second National City of America," 260–261; seat of Clallam County, 357.
Port Discovery, named by Vancouver, 36.
Porter, A. L., his home on White River attacked by Indians, 180.
Porter, Hon. James M., Secretary of War, letter from Whitman to, 124–125.
Port Gamble, Battle of, 204.
Port Gardner, named by Vancouver, 37.
Portland, arrival of the "treasure ship" from Alaska at Seattle, 293–294.
Port Lawrence, named by Wilkes, 74.
Port Madison, named by Wilkes, 74.
Port Orchard, named by Vancouver, 37; seat of Kitsap County, 358.
Port Susan, named by Vancouver, 37.
Port Townsend, named by Vancouver, 36; settlement begun, 227; seat of Jefferson County, 358.
Possession Sound, named by Vancouver, 37.
Post Intelligencer of Seattle, tells of Seattle's destruction by fire, 278; announces Alaska gold news, 293.
Post-office, work of, in the State, 329–330; statistics of, 330.
Prehistoric migrations of animals, 3–4.
Prehistoric plants, 5.
Prentiss, Narcissa, becomes bride of Marcus Whitman, 114.
Presbyterian Church, part in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 113.
Prevost, Captain James C., British commissioner on Northwest boundary commission, 243; represents

Great Britain in arbitration of San Juan case, 253.
Pribilof, Master Gerassim, discovers seal rookeries, 19.
Primary, Direct, adopted in Washington, 313–314.
Pringle, Mrs. Catherine Sager, tells of her escape from Whitman massacre, 121.
Printing, first in Northwest, 115.
Printing, of State, extravagance in, at beginning of Statehood, 291.
Private schools and colleges, 318.
Prohibition, law adopted by provisional government of Oregon, 146; attempt to adopt it in first legislature of Washington, 163; provision for, lost in new constitution, 287.
Prosch, Charles, booms Washington market for good wives, 261.
Prosch, Thomas W., gives record of the Maynards, 189–190.
Prosser, seat of Benton County, 357.
Protection Island, named by Vancouver, 36.
Provisional Government of Oregon, Washington Territory a part of, 138–149; reorganized by immigration of 1843, 145; claimed dominion to 54° 40′, 147.
Prudential Committee of the American Board, decides to abandon two Whitman missions, 117.
Public Buildings, statistics of, 348.
Public Documents, United States, sent to libraries and individuals in this State, 352–353.
Public Expenditures, comparison of those by Nation and State in same area, 353–355; statistics of, 354.
Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, work of, in this State, 338.
Public Instruction, State Superintendents of, list of, 368.
Public lands, granted to new State, 282; means for exploiting, provided, 291–292; Commissioners of, list of, 368.
Public libraries, many in State, 318.
Puget, Peter, meets Captain Gray, 36.
Puget Sound Agricultural Company, organized, 99; agency by which the British hoped to hold lands north of the Columbia, 100–103; contest over claims, 103–105.
Puget Sound Basin, scene of various colonizing schemes, 320–324.
Puget Sound Coöperative Colony, planted at Port Angeles, 1887, 320–321.
Puget Sound, discovered and named, 37; Slacum's report favorable to its retention, 134.
"Purchas His Pilgrimes," story of the supposed Greek pilot Juan de Fuca, 15–16.
Puyallup, former name of Tacoma, 232.
Puyallup Indians, treaty with, 167.

Quadra and Vancouver Island, named, 39.
Qualchin, murders A. J. Bolon, 179–180; leads attack on Governor Stevens, 202; hanged, 215.
Quallawort, Indian chief, hanged at Nisqually, 149.
Quartermaster, United States Army, work of, in this State, 343.
Quebec, Oregon considered a part of the diocese of, 144.
Quiemuth, Chief, commits outrages, 192; surrenders and is murdered, 207.
Quillayute County, organization abandoned, 361.
Quillayute Indians, treaty with, 174.
Quimper, Alferez Manuel, explores Strait of Juan de Fuca, 1790, 32–33.
Quinaielt Indians, treaty with, 174.

Rabbeson, Antonio B., member of committee to oppose British claims, 151; burns first brick, 225; driven from Whidbey Island, 225.
Rabjohn, Frederick, founder of Steilacoom, 227.
Raccoon, British sloop-of-war, at Astoria, 85.
Railroads, development of, in Washington, 305–307; first ones built, 306–307.
Rains, Major, orders punishment of

Yakimas, 180; leads expedition against Yakimas, 181–182.
Ravalli, Father A., joins Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1844, 130; reports antagonism of Yakima chiefs, 200.
Recall, the, adopted in Seattle as amendment to charter, 313.
Recruiting Stations, United States Army, work of, in this State, 345.
Red apple, Washington the home of, 304.
Red River, settlers from, 101.
Reformatory, Washington State, facts about, 369.
Reform School, Washington State, facts about, 369.
Republic, seat of Ferry County, 357.
Republican Party, becomes dominant in Washington Territory, 265; held responsible for extravagance, sustains defeat, 292; regains control of State, 292–293; first victory and first platform in Washington, 310–311; in Territorial elections, 311–312.
Restoration Point, named by Vancouver, 36.
Ricard, Rev. Pascal, Oblate Father, establishes mission, 225.
Richards, Captain Henry, British commissioner on Northwest boundary, 243.
Richmond, Doctor J. P., joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111; plants first American home in Puget Sound region, 112.
Riseland, John L., gives statistics on fisheries, 304–305.
Ritz, Philip, early visit to site of Tacoma, 232.
Ritzville, seat of Adams County, 357.
Rivalry, one city against another, 237.
Rivers of Washington, improved by Corps of Engineers, United States Army, 344.
Roads, laws for building of, 292; era of making good roads is entered, 308.
Roberts, C. E., pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
Roberts, Captain Henry, honored by Vancouver, 35.
Roeder, Henry, pioneer of Bellingham, 231.
Rogers, John R., twice elected Governor, 292–293.
Roman Catholic Church, Oregon missions of, 128–131; strength of Oregon missions, 1847, 131.
Roosevelt, Theodore, "Winning of the West," quoted, 143.
Rosario Strait, boundary insisted on by British in San Juan case, 243.
Ross, Alexander, clerk at Astoria, 84.
Royce, Professor Josiah, tells of pioneer life in California, 255–256.
Rush, Richard, negotiates Treaty of Joint Occupancy, 1818, 87.
Russell, Captain D. A., with Steptoe, 200.
Russell, Israel Cook, "A Reconnaissance in Southeastern Washington," 335.
Russell, Jonathan, negotiates Treaty of Ghent, 86.
Russell, Captain J. W., begins oyster industry at Willapa, 233.
Russia, claims control on West coast, 91; treaty with, in 1824, fixing boundary at 54° 40′, 93; similar treaty with Great Britain in 1825, 93; anxious to exclude Great Britain from Pacific Coast, 133.
Russian America, transactions leading to its cession to United States, 153–154.
Russian approach to the Pacific, 17.

Sacajawea, the "Bird woman," joins the Lewis and Clark expedition, 52; statue of, 52; meets her relatives in the mountains, 53.
Sager, Henry, orphaned children of, adopted in Whitman home, 119–120.
Salem, becomes capital of Oregon, 150.
Salt, boiled from the sea by Lewis and Clark, 54.
Salter, John, commands ship *Boston*, 1803, 43.
Sandwich Islands, annexation asked for, 1854, 152.
San Francisco, early trade with Puget Sound, 231.

San Juan County, facts about, 359, 361.
San Juan dispute, settlement demanded in 1854, 153; crisis in, produced by trouble over a pig, 240; arbitration finally agreed upon, 252–253; last act performed by Hazard Stevens, 254.
San Juan Island, American troops landed on, 245.
Sanksters, British Collector of Customs, raises British flag on San Juan Island, 242.
Santa Rosalia, first name of Mount Olympus, 22.
Sawmills, growth of, in Washington, 300.
Sayward, William P., member of first Council, 164.
Scammon, J. L., first settler of Montesano, 233.
Scarborough, James, pioneer of Pacific County, 233.
Schafer, Joseph, "History of the Pacific Northwest," 14; appreciation of Wyeth, 67.
School for Defective Youth, established, 317; becomes the State School for the Deaf and the Blind, 317.
Schools, attitude of State toward, 316; Washington leads the Nation in per capita expenditures for, 318.
School-teaching, certificated profession of, 325.
Schouler, James, defends Monroe in the authorship of the Monroe Doctrine, 93.
Schurz, Hon. Carl, participates in ceremonies on completion of Northern Pacific Railroad, 273.
Scott, Lieutenant-general Winfield, arrives in Northwest to settle San Juan troubles, 248–250.
Scranton, John H., owner of the *Major Tompkins*, 203.
Scranton, L. R., pioneer of Spokane, 237.
Scudder, Jehu, member of first House, 164.
Seal rookeries, discovered by Pribilof, 19.
Sea-otter skins, wonderful bargain in, by Captain Gray, 41.
Seattle, battle of, 189–191.
Seattle, beginning of the city, 227–231; colony of founders, 229–230; first name was "New York Alki," 230; plat of town filed, 230; county seat of King County, 231; troops arrive in, to quiet anti-Chinese agitation, 276; anti-Chinese riot and martial law proclamation in, 277; destroyed by fire, 1889, 277–278; commercial history of, begun, 299–300; amendment to charter of, grants the recall, 313; seat of King County, 358.
Seattle, Chief, signs Point Elliott treaty, 168; friendly during war, 190.
Seattle Chamber of Commerce, erects statue of Seward, 319.
Secretaries, Territorial, list of, 364.
Secretaries of State, list of, 367.
Sehome, becomes part of Bellingham, 231.
Semmes, Lieutenant, in Battle of Port Gamble, 204.
Semple, Eugene, tells of his father's work for Oregon, 126.
Senators, popular election of, approached in Washington, 313.
Senators, United States, from State of Washington, list of, 365.
Seton, Alfred, aids Bonneville, 60.
Seward, William H., accomplishes purchase of Alaska, 1867, 153–154; statue to his memory in Seattle, 154; hears of clash on San Juan Island, 251; statue of, by Richard E. Brooks, 319.
Shaw, Benjamin F., signs Medicine Creek treaty, 167; treats with Coast Indians, 174; bears singular news to Stevens, 186; fights Battle of Grande Ronde, 198; returns from gold fields, 226.
Shaw, William, early pioneer, 224.
Shelton, David, member of first House, 164.
Shelton, seat of Mason County, 358.
Shenandoah, Confederate privateer, her career in the Pacific, 262–[redacted]

Shepard, Cyrus, lay-member of first mission, 108; marriage with Miss Susan Downing, 109.
Sheridan, Lieutenant P. H., with expedition against Yakimas, 181–182; at Battle of Cascades, 194–196.
Sherman, Lieutenant W. T., makes demonstration with California gold, 255.
Ship *Boston*, destroyed by Nootka Indians, 1803, 43.
Shoalwater Bay, or Willapa Harbor, discovered by Meares, 26–27.
Shoshone County, created, 236.
Shoshone Indians, first contact with white men, 6.
Signal Corps, United States Army, work of, in this State, 345.
Silk hats, how they destroyed the beaver trade, 56.
Simmons, Michael T., calls meeting to oppose British claims, 151; signs Medicine Creek treaty, 167; treats with Coast Indians, 174; leads settlers to Puget Sound, 222–224; sells interests at Tumwater and starts store at Olympia, 226; interested in Tacoma, 231.
Simpson, Sir George, visits the Pacific Northwest, 100; recently found letters of, 102; urges British to insist on Columbia River as boundary, 102–103; letter to Blanchet, 123–124.
Sinclair Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Sitka, built by the Russians, 20.
Skagit, iron ores of, 2.
Skagit County, facts about, 359.
Skagit Indians, treaty with, 169.
Skamania County, facts about, 359.
Skloom, chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 171.
Slacum, William A., special agent of the United States to Northwest, 1835, 98–99; his report repeated in the Cushing Document, 110.
Slaughter, name of town changed to Auburn, 184.
Slaughter, Lieutenant W. A., sent to coöperate with Haller in Yakima Valley, 180; killed by the Indians, 184; honor bestowed and withdrawn, 184–185; county named for, but name withdrawn, 360, 361.
Slavery, people of Washington Territory opposed to, 310.
Slosson, Professor E. E., reports on Home Colony experiment, 322–323.
Sluggia, Indian, betrays his chief, Leschi, 207.
Smith, Judge A. A., in Spokane county-seat fight, 238.
Smith, Rev. A. B., joins Oregon mission, 1838, 116.
Smith, Charles H., absconds with fortune of Simmons, 226.
Smith, C. J., compares value of Washington forest acre with Dakota wheat acre, 301.
Smith, George Otis, "Geology and Water Resources of a Portion of Yakima County," 335.
Smith, George Venable, originator of Puget Sound Coöperative Colony, 320–321.
Smith, H. F. ("Okanogan"), author of memorial on Alaska, 153.
Smith, Jedediah S., fur trader, 57; deeply religious man, 57; visits Fort Vancouver, 1829, 57; debt of Gallatin to, 58.
Smith, Levi L., pioneer of 1846, 225; death of, 226.
Smith, Miss Margaret, joins missionaries, 109.
Smith, Victor, his singular career in Washington Territory, 259–260.
Smithfield, first name of Olympia, 225.
Snohomish County, facts about, 359.
Snohomish Indians, treaty with, 168.
Snoqualmie Indians make war against Nisquallies, 149; treaty with, 168.
Social Democracy, establishes branch colony on Puget Sound, 323–324.
Soldiers' Home, Washington, facts about, 369.
South Bend, seat of Pacific County, 358.
Spain warned on first appearance of the Americans, 21.
Spalding, Mrs. H. H., heroism of, 114;
Spalding, Rev. H. H., becomes a

member of the Oregon mission, 114; success at Lapwai, 115; printing in Nez Percé language, 115; fault-finding by, 117.
Spanish-American War, Washington's participation in, 296–298.
Spanish conquest in the nature of a crusade, 7.
Spanish interest wanes, 10.
Spencer, Chief, death of his family, 195–196.
Spokane, becomes "Metropolis of Inland Empire," 239.
Spokane, destroyed by fire in 1889, 278–279.
Spokane, seat of Spokane County, 359.
Spokane County, confusion at its creation, 235–236; abolished and recreated, 237; facts about, 359, 361.
Spokane Falls, loses and regains county-seat, 237–239; first settlers at, 237–238.
Spokane Falls Review, tells of Spokane's destruction by fire in 1889, 278.
Spokane House, British fort, 85; abandoned, 1825, 96.
Spokane Indians, mission among, 116; surprised by Stevens, 185; harsh treaty with, 215.
Sprague, General J. W., on Spokane county-seat fight, 239.
Squawk Valley, Chinese laborers killed in, 275.
Squire, Watson C., achieves a record with fine reports as Governor of Washington Territory, 274–275; faces trouble in anti-Chinese riots, 275–277; first Senator from State, 287.
Stahr, Chief, commits outrages, 192.
Stampede to Alaska gold fields, 294.
Stanton, Representative from Kentucky, changes name of proposed Territory from Columbia to Washington, 157.
Starr, Lewis M., early owner of Tacoma town site, 232.
State, Secretaries of, list of, 367.
State appropriations, constitutional provision for, 285–286.
State Attorneys-general, list of, 368.
State Auditors, list of, 368.
State Board of Food Commission, 314.
State College of Washington, The, at Pullman, 317; facts about, 369, 370.
State Governors, list of, 367.
Statehood, list of Territorial officers during transition to, 280–281; admission to, provided in the Enabling Act, 281–283.
State indebtedness, limited, 286.
State Institution for the Feeble-minded, established, 317; facts about, 369, 370.
State Institutions, list of, 369–371.
State Library, facts about, 369.
State Museum, facts about, 369, 370.
State Normal Schools, facts about, 369.
State officers, those chosen at first election, 1889, 287; lists of, 365–368.
State of Idaho, early effort to create, 236.
State of Washington, proclaimed by President Harrison, 287; public expenditures by, greatly exceeded by those of nation in same area, 353–355.
State Penitentiary, facts about, 369, 371.
State Railroad Commission, 314.
State School for the Deaf and the Blind, facts about, 369, 370.
State Supreme Court, list of Judges of, 366–367.
State Tax Commission, 314.
State Treasurers, list of, 367.
Steachus, Chief, at Council of Walla Walla, 171.
Steamboat Inspection Service, work of, in this State, 338.
Steilacoom, city founded near fort, 227.
Steilacoom, Fort, established, 1849, 150.
Steilacoom, hospital for the insane at, 327.
Steilacoom Indians, treaty with, 167.
Steinberger, Colonel Justus, organizes regiment in Washington Territory, 258.

Stejneger, Doctor Leonhard, revives interest in Steller of the Bering expedition, 19.
Steller, Doctor George Wilhelm, work with the Bering expedition, 19.
Steptoe, Lieutenant-colonel E. J., sent as aid to Stevens camp, 199; reveals Wool's policy of opposition, 201; forced to appeal to Stevens for help, 201–202; praises volunteers, 202; closes Walla Walla to settlers, 202; sustains defeat at Battle of Steptoe Butte, 213–214.
Steptoe Butte, battle of, 213–214.
Steptoe City, first name of Walla Walla, 234.
Sterrett, Captain Isaac S., decides to defend Seattle, 181; dismissed from the navy and reinstated, 189.
Stevens, Hazard, signs Medicine Creek treaty, 167; tells of treaty making, 168; on errand to Gros Ventres, 172; praises volunteers, 191; shows honesty of volunteers, 206–207; performs last act in closing San Juan case, 254.
Stevens, Governor Isaac I., first gubernatorial message, 152, 162; career before becoming governor, 159; duties in addition to those of governor, 159; railroad surveys, 160; proclamation at Cadotte's Pass, 160; strange welcome at Olympia, 161; writes to A. A. Denny, 161; proclamation beginning the government, 161–162; reports on Hudson Bay Company holdings, 162; goes East for the Territory, 165–166; message to second Legislature, 166; making Indian treaties, 167–175; saved from Indian plot at Walla Walla, 170–171; relies on friendship of Nez Percés, 172; makes list of Indians, 174; estimate of the Indian treaties, 174–175; gives causes of Indian wars, 178; his energy, 188; proclaims martial law, 196–197; pardons himself, 197; demands hostile chiefs of Colonel Wright, 199; attempts second council at Walla Walla, 199–201; fights Indians near camp of regular troops, 201–202; insists on trial of certain Indians, 207; Legislative censure of, 207–211; heads list of incorporators of Northern Pacific Railroad Company, 210; elected to Congress and censure revoked, 211; a human dynamo, 218–219; answers protest of Douglas in San Juan case, 241; county named for, 359, 361.
Stevens County, facts about, 359, 361.
Stevenson, seat of Skamania County, 359.
Stiles, Judge Theodore L., gives criticism and appreciation of constitution he helped to frame, 288–289.
Stoeckl, minister from Russia, makes treaty for cession of Alaska, 154.
Strawberry Bay, named by Broughton, 37.
Strong, William, Judge, member of advisory code commission, 162.
Stuart, David, partner of Astor, 82; establishes Fort Okanogan, 84.
Stuart, John, sent over Mackenzie's trail, 81.
Stuart, Robert, partner of Astor, 82.
Sturgeon Bank, named by Vancouver, 38.
Sublette's fur-hunting veterans convoy the first missionaries, 108.
Superintendents of Public Instruction, State, list of, 368.
Supreme Court of State, list of Judges of, 366–367.
Suquamish Indians, treaty with, 168.
Surveyors-general, Territorial, list of, 363.
Sutter, John A., his Nueva Helvetia, 66.
Swan, James G., tells of attempted treaty with Chehalis Indians, 173; as secretary to Stevens, 218.
Swan, John M., settler of "Swan town," 227.
Swartwout, Captain Samuel, commands the *Massachusetts*, 203; battle with Northern Indians at Port Gamble, 204.
Sweden and Norway, King of, declined as arbitrator of San Juan case, 252.

Switzerland, President of, twice declined as arbitrator of San Juan case, 252.
Sylvester, Edmund, pioneer of 1846, 225; contributes land for first store, 226.
Synd, Lieutenant, 19.

Tacoma, cruiser, presented with silver service, 347.
Tacoma, founding of, 231–233; all Chinese driven out of, 276; seat of Pierce County, 358.
Taft, Lorado, his statue of Washington, 319.
Tah-ho-lah, his chief's paper still saved by his son, 174.
Tappan, William H., member of first Council, 164.
Taxation, constitutional provision of, 285; effort to obtain modern method fails, 314.
Taylor, Captain Oliver H. P., killed in battle of Steptoe Butte, 213.
Territorial Auditors, list of, 364.
Territorial District Attorneys, list of, 363.
Territorial Governors, list of, 362.
Territorial Judges, list of, 362.
Territorial Marshals, list of, 363.
Territorial Officers, changes of, during transition to Statehood, 280–281; lists of, 362–364.
Territorial Secretaries, list of, 364.
Territorial Surveyors-general, list of, 363.
Territorial Treasurers, list of, 364.
Territory of Oregon, organized by Congress in 1848, 149; Washington remains part of, 149; Lincoln declines governorship of, 149; northern settlers seek separation from, 151.
Territory of United States, important map of, 109–110.
Territory of the United States, Old Oregon officially claimed as such in 1838, 73.
Territory of Walla Walla, effort to create, 236.
Terry, Charles C., at founding of Seattle, 230.
Terry, Lee, one of founders of Seattle, 229–230.
Texas, yoked with Oregon in campaign issues of 1844, 132.
Thomas H. Perkins, brig, bought by Wilkes and name changed to *Oregon*, 79.
Thompson, David, geographer of Northwest Company, 81; honored by name of Thompson River, 81; appears at Astoria, 1811, 84.
Thompson, John, enslaved by Nootka Indians, 1803, 43.
Thompson, Chaplain John R., death of, 297.
Thompson, L. F., member of first Territorial and State Legislatures of Washington, 164.
Thorn, Jonathan, commands *Tonquin* 82–83.
Thornton, Seyborn early pioneer, 224.
Thurston, Samuel R., county named for, 359, 361.
Thurston County, created by Territorial government of Oregon, 149; facts about, 359, 361.
Tide-lands, provision made to exploit, 291–292.
Times, of Seattle, announces Alaska gold news, 293.
Timothy, Nez Percé guide of Steptoe, 213.
Tinkham, Lieutenant, succeeds where McClellan failed, 160–161.
Tolmie, Doctor William Fraser, arrival in the Northwest, 98; superintendent of Puget Sound Agricultural Company, 100; tribute to American energy, 104–105; seeks to strengthen hold of Puget Sound Agricultural Company, 150–151; compelled to withdraw herds, 151.
Tonquin, ship, takes Astor party by sea, 82–83; destroyed by the Indians, 83.
Topographic surveys in this State, by United States Geological Survey, 334–335.
Totten Inlet, named by Wilkes, 75.
Township government, permitted, 286.
Town-site law, war measure applied in Washington Territory, 259–261.

Tracy, F. P., his memoir in the Cushing Document, 110.
Treasurers, State, list of, 367.
Treasurers, Territorial, list of, 364.
Treasury Department, United States, work of, and statistics of public buildings in this State, 348.
Treaty of 1846, concluded on June 15, 135; relative importance among treaties, 136.
Trusts, forbidden by constitution, 286.
Tshimakain, mission among the Spokanes, 116.
Tumwater, convention at, to oppose British claims, 151; earliest American settlement on Puget Sound, 224.
Turner, Professor F. J., finds Jefferson's letter to George Rogers Clark, 49; significance of the frontier, 55; refers to Whitman, 117.
Turner, Judge George, against woman suffrage, 271.
Tuyl, Baron, Russian Minister, holds interview with John Quincy Adams, 92.

Ukase of 1821, announcing claims of Russia on West coast, 91; opposed by Great Britain and United States, 92; one cause of the Monroe Doctrine, 92.
Umatilla Indians, treaty with, 171.
United States, compact with, by new State of Washington, 286.
United States, public expenditures by, greatly exceed those of this State within same area, 353–355.
United States Army, work of, in this State, 341–345.
United States Assay Office, work of, in this State, 348–349.
United States Civil Service Commission, work of, in this State, 350.
United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, work of, in this State, 335–336.
United States Court, divisions and work of, in this State, 339.
United States depositaries, statistics of, in this State, 349.
United States Exploring Expedition, The, proper name of the Wilkes expedition, 71.
United States Geological Survey, work of, in this State, 333–335.
United States in the Nootka controversy, 31.
United States Military Academy, representation of the State in, 351–352; first cadet from this State in, 351–352.
United States Naval Academy, representation of the State in, 352.
United States Navy Department, work of, in this State, 346–347.
United States Penitentiary, on McNeil Island, 340–341.
United States Public Documents sent to libraries and individuals in this State, 352–353.
United States Reclamation Service, work of, in the State, 330–331.
United States Treasury Department, work of, and statistics of public buildings in this State, 348.
University of Washington, at Seattle, 317–318; facts about, 369, 370.
Upper Pend d'Oreilles Indians, treaty with, 172.
Upshur, Abel P., Secretary of State, negotiating on Oregon question, 132.
Utter, William, pioneer of Bellingham, 231.

Valdes, Cayetano, in Gulf of Georgia, 1792, 34.
Van Asselt, Henry, Duwamish River, pioneer, 228.
Vancouver, Fort, continuous home of white men, 223.
Vancouver, Captain George, represents Great Britain at Nootka, 32; gives geographic names that endured, 34–39; meets Captain Gray, 36.
Vancouver, in danger at time of battle of Cascades, 198.
Vancouver, oldest city in Washington, 97.
Vancouver, seat of Clarke County, 357.
Vancouver Barracks, headquarters

of the Department of the Columbia United States Army, 341.
Vancouver Island, named, 39; Legislature of, issues pronouncement in San Juan case, 247.
Van Vleet, Lewis, opposes division of Washington Territory, 236.
Vashon Island, named by Vancouver, 37.
Vercruisse, Father, joins Catholic Mission in Oregon, 1844, 130.
Veterans' Home, Washington, facts about, 369.
Veterinarians, examined and certified, 325.
Viceroy Flores, foresaw danger from the United States in 1788, 21.
Villard, Henry, completes Northern Pacific Railroad, 271–274.
Vizcaino in 1602, 10.
Von Holst, H., epigrammatic treatment of issues of 1844, 132.
Voorhees, Charles S,. elected Delegate to Congress, 273; two terms in Congress, 312.

Waddell, Captain James Iredell, his career in the Pacific with the Confederate privateer *Shenandoah*, 262–264.
Wahkiakum County, facts about, 359, 360.
Waiilatpu, chosen as site of the Whitman mission, 114.
Waldron Island, named by Wilkes, 75.
Walker, Rev. A. F., joins Methodist Mission, 1840, 111.
Walker, Charles, killed by Yakima Indians, 179.
Walker, C. M., hired with first mission, 108.
Walker, Rev. Elkanah, joins Oregon mission, 115.
Walker, I. R., with Bonneville, harsh treatment of Digger Indians, 60.
Walker, Robert J., Secretary of the Treasury, divulges Russia's attitude in 1845, 133.
Wallace, Leander C., killed in Indian attack on Fort Nisqually, 1849, 149.
Wallace, William H., candidate for Congress, 218; first Republican elected to Congress from Washington, 310–311.
Walla Walla, city grows up, 234.
Walla Walla, Indian council at, 169–172.
Walla Walla, seat of Walla Walla County, 359.
Walla Walla, Territory of, effort to create, 236.
Walla Walla Constitutional Convention, work and membership of, 266–267.
Walla Walla country, closed to settlers, 202; reopened to settlers, 212.
Walla Walla County, facts about, 359.
Walla Walla Indians, treaty with, 171.
Walla Walla Railroad Company, one of first in Washington Territory, 306.
War between the States, participation of Washington Territory in, 257–258.
Ward, Ira, member of first House, 164.
War of 1812, causes sale of Astoria, 85.
War with Mexico, effect on Oregon of acquiring California, 148–149.
Wasco Indians, converted at The Dalles, 112.
Washington, counties of, origin of their names, dates of organization, seats of government, and other information about, 357–361.
Washington, cruiser, presented with silver service, 347.
Washington, State of, proclaimed by President Harrison, 287; public expenditures by, greatly exceeded by those of nation in same area, 353–355.
Washington, statue of, by Lorado Taft, 319.
Washington Children's Home Society, work of, 327.
Washington Colony, planted at Whatcom, 1883, 320.
"Washingtonia," name proposed for Territory of Washington, 158.
Washington Soldiers' Home, established at Orting, 327; aided by

Federal government, 348; facts about, 369.
Washington State Fair, facts about, 369.
Washington State Historical Society, erects monument at Sequalitchew Lake, 77.
Washington State Reformatory, facts about, 369.
Washington State Reform School, established, 317; facts about, 369.
Washington Territorial Legislature, war-time eloquence in, 258–259.
Washington Territory, feeling of importance, 152; asks for annexation of Sandwich Islands, 152; many memorials, 153; asks fishing privileges in Russian America, 153; organization of, 155–164; area of, temporarily enlarged, 158; first census of, 159; first legislature of, 162–166; ready for war with Great Britain over San Juan case, 247–248; thanks of, given to George E. Pickett, 249; civil authorities of, clash with military on San Juan Island, 251; settles down after gold excitement, 256–257; interested in certain leaders in war between the States, 257–258; women of, work for Sanitary Commission, 258; effort to dismember, 266; one reason why Statehood was sought, 267–268; officers of, at time of transition to Statehood, 280–281; admission to Statehood provided in the Enabling Act, 281–283.
Washington University State Historical Society, places monument at Nootka, 44; marks historic sites on San Juan Island, 254.
Washington Veterans' Home, established, 327; facts about, 369.
Water resources, surveys of, 335.
Water rights, law for, 292.
Water route to the Orient, quest of, 14.
Waterville, seat of Douglas County, 357.
Waunch, George, early pioneer, 224.
Wayland, C. L., declares Washington's name is expensive, 158.
Wealth, statistics of the wealth of Washington people, 308.
Weather Bureau, work of, in this State, 331.
Webster, Daniel, Secretary of State, interviewed by Adams on the Oregon question, 126; his attitude toward Oregon, on resigning from Tyler's Cabinet, 132; sarcastic fling at Polk, 136.
Wenatchee, seat of Chelan County, 357.
Western Washington Hospital for the Insane, facts about, 369, 370.
Whatcom, becomes part of Bellingham, 231.
Whatcom County, facts about, 359.
Whatcom Milling Company, organized, 231.
Wheat, one of the legal tenders in Old Oregon, 146–147.
Wheeler, Olin D., "The Trail of Lewis and Clark," 52.
Whidbey Island, named by Vancouver, 38; early settlers on, 227; British contemplate settling on, 243.
White, Doctor Elijah, hears of Indians' desire for priests, 106; joins missionaries with wife and two children, 109; quiets Indians at Whitman mission, 119; United States sub-agent of Indian Affairs, 140; escapes a duel, 146; booms "Pacific City," 233.
White, James, says American control of Oregon was inevitable, 105.
White River Massacre, 182.
Whitman, Doctor Marcus, first trip to the Rockies and return, 113–114; marriage with Narcissa Prentiss, 114; reaches Walla Walla, 1836, 114; friendship with Doctor McLoughlin, 114; tireless energy of, 116; famous winter's ride, 117–119; visits Horace Greeley, 118; plan to guide Christian families to Oregon, 118; helps great immigration of 1843, 118–119; purpose to aid white settlers, 119; his home a hospital, 119; adoption of Sager orphans, 119–120; his

tragic death, 120; real significance of his famous ride, 122–127; letter to Secretary of War, 124; contributed his share toward saving Oregon, 127; Nixon's composite portrait of, 127–128; county named for, 359.
Whitman, Mrs. Marcus, heroism of, 114; describes first home at Waiilatpu, 115; letter about Spalding, 117; grave of her baby girl, 120.
Whitman County, facts about, 359.
Whitman massacre, 120–121; names of those killed, 121; perpetrators punished, 121; survivors rescued, 121.
Whitman Mission, history of, 113–127.
Whitman's ride, 117–119; real significance of, 122–127.
Whitson, Edward, United States District Judge, 339.
Wholley, Colonel John H., of First Washington Volunteer Infantry, 296–297.
Wilkes, Charles, leader of the United States Exploring Expedition, 72–73; visits Hudson Bay Company's post and the missions along the Columbia, 76–77; celebrates Fourth of July, 1841, 77; compliments Nisqually mission, 78; good report of waters of Puget Sound, 79; advises against formation of provisional government, 140.
Wilkes expedition, the, importance of, 71; organization of, 71–73; scope of and results in the Northwest, 71–79; personnel of the party, 73.
Willamette Cattle Company, aided by Slacum, 99.
Willamette University, succeeds to property of Oregon Institute, 113.
Willamette Valley, first field of the missionaries, 108.
Willapa Harbor, discovered by Meares, 26–27; settlers on, 233.
William I, Emperor of Germany, arbitrator in San Juan case, 253–254.
Williams, George H., member of Joint High Commission of 1871, 252.
Williams, Sergeant Robert, survivor of the Battle of Cascades, 195.
Wilson, Henry C., takes claim at Port Townsend, 227.
Wilson, John M., tells of his appointment to West Point as first cadet from Pacific Coast, 351–352.
Wilson, Robert, killed in Battle of Seattle, 190.
Winship Brothers, attempt settlement on the Columbia in 1810, 81.
Winston, Colonel Patrick Henry, story about, in boom days, 295.
Winthrop, Theodore, kicks a king, 203; publishes word "Tacoma," 232.
"Wolf Meetings," how a government evolved from them, 141–145.
Woman Suffrage, attempt to adopt it in first legislature of Washington, 163; agitation for, 270; granted and again withdrawn, 271; granted at school elections, 285; provision for, lost in new constitution, 287.
Women's Clubs, State Federation of, 318–319.
Wool, Major-general John E., starts unfortunate conflict with volunteers, 186–187; opposition to Indian treaties, 216–217; his record as a soldier, 216–217.
Wool, smuggling of, on San Juan Island, 251–252.
Wright, Colonel George, in command on the Columbia, 187; neglects the Cascades portage, 193; futile campaign against Yakimas, 198; refuses full coöperation with Stevens, 199; practically surrenders to Indians, 202; establishes Fort Walla Walla, 202; becomes demon of destruction to Indians, 214–216; shoots eight hundred horses, 215; record of hangings, 216.
Wyckoff, Lieutenant A. B., establishes Navy Yard, Puget Sound, 346.
Wyeth, John A., M.D., plea for memory of his kinsman, 70.
Wyeth, John B., deserts his kinsman, 68.

Wyeth, Nathaniel J., work in and for Old Oregon, 67–70; appreciation of, 67; fascination of James Russell Lowell, 67; guides missionaries, 69; establishes Fort Hall, 69; sold out in 1836, 70; reports Japanese derelicts, 70; his memoir in the Cushing Document, 110.

Yakima County, facts about, 359.
Yakima Indians, treaty with, 171; related to western tribes, 177; begin war, 179–180; at battle of Cascades, 193–195; make trouble at Stevens's second council of Walla Walla, 201–202.
Yakima Valley, railroad surveys through, 160–161.
Yantis, B. F., member of first Council, 164.
Year of fires, cities destroyed in 1889, 277–279.
Yeaton, Cyrus F., locates at Spokane, 238.
Yesler, Henry L., on battle of Seattle, 190; builds at Seattle first steam sawmill on Puget Sound, 230; as mayor of Seattle calls for troops during anti-Chinese trouble, 276.
Young, Brigham, name used in debate, 211.
Young, Ewing, how his death started government for Oregon 139.
Young, Professor F. G., appreciation of Wyeth, 67.
Young Chief, at council of Walla Walla, 170.

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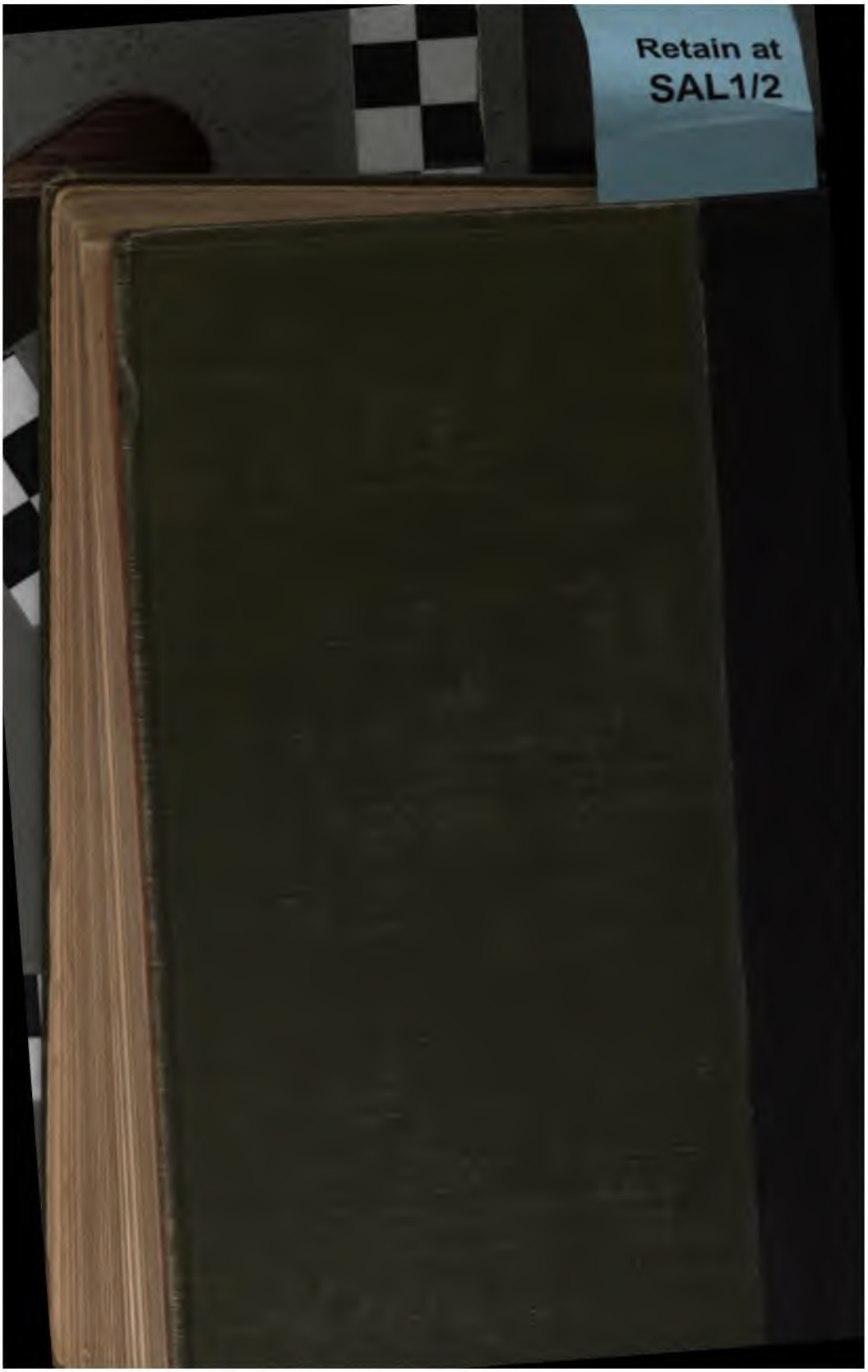

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